

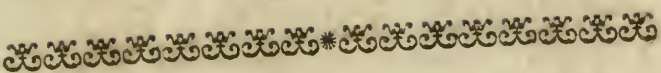


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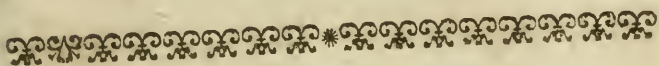
QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
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Mr. *HEATHCOTE's*

L E T T E R.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

REPORT

LETTER

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE The

LORD MAYOR,

The Worshipful ALDERMEN, and
COMMON-COUNCIL;

T H E

MERCHANTS, CITIZENS, and INHABITANTS,

O F T H E

CITY of L O N D O N.

From an OLD SERVANT.

The THIRD EDITION.

Vox Populi, Vox Dei.

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN

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A
L E T T E R
T O T H E

Right Honourable the LORD MAYOR, &c.

My LORD and SIRs,

 GRATITUDE, for the many great Favour and Honours you have formerly conferred upon me, will never permit my *Love* for the City of *London*, or my *Anxiety* for her *Interest* and *Felicity*, to cease or abate. And I can with Truth assure my good and worthy old Friends and Masters, that the Zeal, which, in the vigour of my life, warmed my Breast, for the Prosperity of my Fellow-Citizens, and of all my Fellow-Subjects, glows with no less Ardour, now I am old and grey-headed; and in the last Stage of my Journey to the other World.

This Zeal then, my Lord and Sirs, is my *sole* Motive, for addressing you, at this most important and critical Juncture; when, if any Credit is to be given to the publick Reports, all the Blessings, this Nation flattered itself with the Enjoyment of, from the Ruin of the *French* Commerce and naval Power, are in Danger of being lost, by the Restitution of *Goree* and *Guadaloupe*; if not of far the greatest Part of our late Conquests, to our perfidious and inveterate Enemy; and by leaving the *Newfoundland* Fishery, upon the Footing it stood before the War; which is not a Whit better, than giving them up that.

B

Very

very profitable Branch of Trade and great Nursery of Seamen : The Profits annually arising from the Fish-Trade, together with those arising from *Guadeloupe* and *Goree*, being sufficient, with such a Nursery, to turn the Ballance of Trade in Favour of *France* ; and revive their now expiring naval Force to an Height, that will enable her, in a few Years, to cope again with *Great Britain*, for the Dominion of the Sea ; and to insult, annoy, and injure *us*, and all her Neighbours.

These, my Lord and Sirs, must be certain Consequences of so dishonourable and shameful a Peace, as, the News Papers inform the Publick, is on the Anvil; and so far advanced, as to want little more to conclude it, than the Hands of the Duke *de Nivernois*, the *French* Ambassador, in *London*, and of our Minister in *Paris*. An Embassy honourable and safe to *Nivernois* : Honourable, because he comes to retrieve the lost Affairs of his royal Master, and the ruined Commerce and naval Power of his unfortunate Country ; by cajoling and outwitting (perhaps no arduous Undertaking) the *British* Ministry. He has no rich Sugar Plantations in the *West Indies* ; no *Goree* in *Africa*, a Settlement to carry on the Negro, the Ivory, the Gold Dust, and Gum Trades ; no profitable Fishery and Nursery for Seamen ; no Colony in *North America* of Consequence enough to purchase a disadvantageous Peace of *Great Britain* ; standing, victorious and triumphant, over her often routed Enemy ; depressed and ruined beyond all Recovery ; without the friendly Aid of a *British* M———ry :—an Enemy now sprawling; trembling, languishing, and gasping under our Feet ; unable to lift either Hand or Heel against us. So that he, having nothing to give up of Value, *can* loose no Honour by betraying his Country. The very Attempt to bubble our Ministers, the Success of which must appear to all *Frenchmen*, so highly *improbable* and *romantick*, manifests

feels a Spirit, that of itself reflects great Honour upon the Ambassador, though he should return to his own Court *re infecta*.

But, my Lord and Sirs; if *Nivernois*, contrary to the reasonable Expectations of his Countrymen, should return to *France*, with the certain Means in his Pocket, of recovering so ample a Share of her late Commerce, as will turn the Ballance so much in her Favour, as will enable her to reimburse her squandered Wealth; retrieve her Bankrupt Credit; revive her naval Power, and fit out formidable Fleets; I say, if *Nivernois* should thus, by *Negotiation*, without spilling a Drop more of *French* Blood, be able to unravel and undo most, or so much of those glorious and unparallelled Services Mr. *Pitt* has done his Country; effected, by the Effusion of Oceans of *British* Blood, and the Expence of upwards of 100,000,000*l.* of Treasure, during the last and the present War; as will of Course draw after them all the Rest of the noble Acquisitions and glorious Conquests of the *British* Arms; planned by the unequalled Genius of that true Patriot and uncorrupt Servant of his King and Country; whose Absence from the Cabinet, every honest *Briton* justly laments, (and, if the *News Papers* tell Truth, of the Peace in Agitation) our latest Posterity will rue. I say then, if *Nivernois* should return to *France*, with such a rich Present in his Pocket for his Master and Fellow-Subjects; what Honour, what Glory, will not attend his Embassy? With what excessive Love, with what exquisite Delight, with what extatic Joy and extravagant Transports will his despairing, disgraced, and undone Prince and Fellow-Subjects, receive and behold, this *pacific* Deliverer of his Country; who without formidable Fleets and Armies, only with the Breath of his Mouth, shall have dissipated like a Bubble floating upon Water, all the immense Advantages of our Patriot Minister's wise and glorious

Administration—and “ * of mighty Battles fought in vain,—the Price of so much Blood and Treasure?” How will the Streets of *Paris* ring, and every Village of *France* echo, with loud Acclamations and reiterated Praises of the Man, that with so much Facility shall have rescued *France* out of our Hands, and with the Ruins of *Britain* laid a solid Foundation of his Country’s future Prosperity? Will not such honourable Testimonies of national Gratitude, be the Reward of *Nivernois*, in the same Manner, as they lately were of our Patriot Minister, for the like Services done his Country, with respect to *France*?

And as his Embassy will be honourable, so likewise it will be safe. For not having *betrayed*, but *saved* his King and Country, he will be sure of enjoying his Titles and Estate as long as he lives; and, when God demands his Life, of drawing his last Breath upon his Pillow, and descending into his Grave with his Head upon his Shoulders.—Great Blessings indeed! which God forbid should be permitted to any Native of this Island, that shall dare advise his Majesty to conclude an *unsafe* and *dishonourable* Peace with *France*; let that Native be born in the SOUTH, or let him be born in the NORTH.

But, my Lord and Sirs, let us leave Generals, and come to Particulars; and consider the Peace talked of upon the Plans laid down in the *News Papers*.

We are first alarmed with only the Restoration of *Greece* and *Guadaloupe*, and with leaving the *Newfoundland* Fishery upon the same Footing it was before the War.

We are next alarmed with Restitutions and Concessions, that must make every Briton’s Hair stand upright on his Head; make him turn pale and shudder at the Gulph of utter Destruction presented to his View, and said to be prepared for him. For

ADDISON’S Cato.

in the *London Evening-Post*, from *Tuesday August* the 31st, to *Thursday September* the 2d, we have the following dismal Account of the present Negotiation, threatening (if true) inevitable Perdition to *Great Britain*.

“ The following are confidently said in the publick News Papers, to be the *true* Preliminaries to the ensuing PEACE :

“ The *English* to have all *Canada* ; the *River Mississippi* to be the Boundaries.

“ The *French* to retain the Privilege of sending as many *Ships* as they please to *North America* ; in which Trade they usually employed annually between 1200 and 1500 sail.

“ The *French* to enjoy the Fishery they had before the War ; and to be given the *Island of Cape Sable* for drying their FISH.—Likewise to have a Fishery on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, with a Settlement on the West Side of that *Island* for the Purposes of drying, &c.

“ *Martinico*, *Guadaloupe*, *Marigalante*, and *St. Lucia* to be restored to the *French* ; *Tobago*, and the rest of the neutral *Islands* to be ceded to *Great Britain*.

“ The *French* to have three Settlements in the *East Indies* ; *Pondicherry* to be one of them.

“ *Minorca* to be ceded to the *English* ; and *Belleisle* to the *French*.

“ *Senegal* to remain with the *English* ; and *Greece* to be restored.

“ The *Havannah*, also, if taken, to be restored to the *Spaniards*.”

Such Preliminaries, would be so *instantaneously* ruinous, and *shamefully* dishonourable, that I can never believe any Minister bold enough, to make so wicked a Sacrifice of his Country's Honour ; her most valuable commercial Interests, and naval Strength and Glory ; as well as of her Independency on *France* ; since he must know, so unjustifiable a Measure, would not only be attended with the Loss of his Royal

Master's

Master's Confidence, " whose *Heart is intirely British,*" but also draw down upon his Head, the *implacable* RESENTMENT and INDIGNATION of the *whole Kingdom*; and the *heavieſt* and *cruſhing* WEIGHT of *parliamentary* JUSTICE and VENGEANCE. I am therefore inclined to think, that this *black Catalogue* of Preliminaries has been ſent to the *London Evening- Poſt*, by ſome Enemy of our *great Ones*; or, if by ſome Friend, or with their Privity; that it is inſerted, only to feel the Pulse of the People, in order to diſcover, how far they would be paſſive, under a Scheme pregnant with the worſt Miſfortunes that can befall a Nation; in Hopes, that when they ſee a Scheme, whereby leſs is to be given up, and the conſequent Ruin will be more obſcured from Sight and ſlower in its Approach, though not leſs *certain*, they may in a Fit of Joy, for their imaginary Eſcape from the more viſible, eagerly embrace the inviſible Danger; or that Stomachs nauſeating a large Potion, may be prevailed on to take down a ſmall Vial, without thinking the ſmaller Doſe may be compounded ſtrong enough to kill, as well as the large one; and, by the Skill of the Artiſt, the Poiſon may be contrived to operate with ſlow, and yet ſure Degrees.

Thus, my Lord and Sirs, whether the *Preliminaries* now in Agitation, are only for the Reſtitution of *Goree, Guadaloupe*, and permitting the *French* to fiſh as before the War; or whether they are for that *ample* and *general* Reſtitution given us in the *London Evening- Poſt* of the 31ſt Inſtant, which will, like Gunpowder, blow up this Nation in a Trice; it will be *proper* to reduce to Figures, *what* will be the State of *Great Britain* and *France*, under a Peace concluded upon ſuch *unequal* and *pernicious* PRELIMINARIES.

But before we ſtate this Account, it may not be improper to obſerve, that, whichſoever of the *two Nations*, ſhall poſſeſs a *Ballance of Trade* in her *Favour*,

vour, consisting in an Importation of foreign Coin or Bullion, and only possess a Right in that great Nursery of Seamen, must of Necessity become the most powerful, both in external and internal Strength; and that the weakest must fall a Victim to that State which shall thus become the superior Strength and Power. And that consequently the future Security, Happiness, and Glory of *Great Britain* absolutely depends upon keeping that Balance of foreign Coin and Bullion, and the great Nursery of Seamen in our own hands: And that whoever shall, in making a Peace with *France*, make such Concessions to her, as shall turn that *Balance* and restore her *naval Power*, will infallibly raise the *Greatness* of *France*, out of the *Ruins* of *Britain*; unless the Parliament, in Compassion to a betrayed People, shall prevail with his M——y immediately to break so *unequal*, *pernicious*, and *unnecessary* a PEACE.

Mr. *John Ashley*, an Author of compleat Knowledge in all Branches of our Plantation and *North American Trade*; an Author of allowed Credit, whose Authority hath never been denied or disputed, tells us in his *Memoirs and Considerations*, &c. printed 1740.

“ That it is computed, there is the Quantity of about 80,000 *English* Hogsheads of Sugar imported into *Germany*, *Holland*, the *Baltick*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Turkey*, *per Annum*, (exclusive of what is imported into *Holland* and *Spain* from their own Plantations) which Quantity may employ 40,000 Tons of Shipping, and 3600 Seamen, *only* to bring it into *Europe*; and amounts in Value to 1,000,000*l.* Sterling *per Annum*, computing at 12*l.* 10*s.* *per* Hogshead, Freight and Commissions included. *”

Note, Besides 40,000 Tons of Shipping and 3600 Seamen employed, in only the Importation into *Europe* of 80,000 *English* Hogsheads of Sugar from the Sugar

* See *Ashley's Memoirs and Considerations*, p. 19 and 20.

Sugar Islands, at 12*l.* 10*s.* *per* Hogheads, amounts to 1,000,000*l.* Sterling *per Annum*, exclusive of Indigo, Ginger, Cotton, and Coffee, &c. which must be a vast Sum; and which 1,000,000*l.* they cost the Merchants (not the Mother Countries, for they buy them with Manufactures) that export them again to the several *European* Markets. This 1,000;000*l.* before the *Re-exportation*, indeed brings in no foreign Coin or Bullion into the Mother Countries; but is nevertheless of prodigious Advantage to them, by giving *Bread* to vast Numbers of *People*. To 3600 Seamen employed in the first Importation of those Sugars into *Europe*, and to the Seamen employed in the *Re-exportation* of them to the *European* Markets; which may be as many more.—To all the several Artificers employed in building and fitting out those 40,000 Tons of Shipping.—To the Manufacturers almost of all Sorts, who supply the Seamen and Artificers, their Wives and Children, with Rayment of every Kind, and Household Goods; and also to those Manufacturers, who make wearing Apparel fit for the Natives of *Africa*, and Trinkets and Baubles, with which the Mother Countries buy Negroes to cultivate both their Sugar Islands and Colonies in *North America*, and to the Husbandman who raises Provisions to feed all these useful People. Besides, they purchase with those Manufactures as much Gum, as perhaps would cost, were they to be purchased of Foreigners, 100,000*l.* Sterling *per Annum*; a very great Saving. And over and above all this, they purchase, with those Manufactures, great Quantities of *Gold Dust* to coin into Specie, Elephants Teeth and Negroes, sold to *New Spain*; where they have an Opportunity, at the same Time, of vending large Quantities of their Manufactures, for both which last they have their Returns in Silver, to coin also into Specie. So that, by Manufactures alone, without exporting
a Brass

a Brass Farthing, they supply and cultivate their Sugar Islands and Northern Colonies with Negroes, save the Price of Gums, and annually encrease in Wealth, by the Importation of Gold Dust from *Africa*, the Sale of Negroes, and dry Goods in *New Spain*, and the Profits upon 80,000 Hogsheds of Sugar, valued at Home at 1,000,000*l.* Sterling *per Annum*; besides what they gain by Cotton, Ginger, Indigo, and Coffee. So that by Means of their Sugar Islands and Settlements in *Africa* having a vast Demand for Manufactures, whereby they plentifully maintain their Poor, and whereby they are invited to marry; and Foreigners that cannot live at Home, are induced to flock to them, to gain Subsistence by Labour; in-so much that the Number of People encreases proportionably with their Wealth. And thus, both external and internal Strength encreasing daily, they are enabled to raise great Armies and formidable Fleets. And all these great Advantages lately (except a very poor Pittance) were engrossed by *France*.

Now, my Lord and Sirs, let us ask our great Statesmen the following Questions; to which Truth would dictate to them the annexed Answers:

Q. 1: Which, before the War, were the Mother Countries of those valuable Sugar Islands and Settlements, from whence all this immense Wealth ariseth?

A. *Great Britain* and *France*.

Q. 2. Of the 80,000 Hogsheds *English* Weight, how many did *Great Britain* export to *Germany*, *Holland*, the *Baltick*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Turkey*, upon an Average *communibus Annis*, from 1733 to 1736; and how many from the Year 1736 to 1737?

A. According to Mr *Ashley's* Account from the Year 1733 to 1736, the Exportation is:

To <i>Germany</i> , and the other Mar-	}	1155 per An.
kets of <i>Europe</i> , Raw Sugars,		
Hogsheads — — —		
To <i>Ireland</i> , Ditto — — —		4602 Ditto
To <i>British Plantations</i> , <i>Alderney</i> ,	}	25 Ditto
<i>Guernsey</i> , <i>Jersey</i> , <i>Africa</i> , and the		
<i>East Indies</i> , Ditto — — —		
<hr/>		
Total of raw Sugars — — —		5782 per An.
To <i>Germany</i> , &c. refined Sugars	}	1118
exported from 1729 to 1736,		
Hogsheads — — —		
To <i>Ireland</i> — — —		381
To <i>British Plantations</i> , &c. as above		494
<hr/>		
Total of refined Sugars — — —		1993
<hr/>		
Total of raw and refined Sugars — — —		6875
<hr/>		
From 1736 to 1737 the Demand from <i>Germany</i> and the		
other foreign Markets sunk greatly, for we export-		
ed raw Sugars to them only, Hogsheads 258		
To <i>Ireland</i> — — —		3740
To the <i>British Plantations</i> , &c. — — —		80
<hr/>		
4078		
To <i>Germany</i> , &c. of refined Sugars		168
To <i>Ireland</i> — — —		581
To <i>British Plantations</i> , &c. — — —		384
<hr/>		
1133		
<hr/>		
Total of raw and refined Sugars — — —		5211
See <i>Memoirs and Considerations</i> , p. 96 and 97.		

And thus the Demand for the *British* Sugars, between the Years 1715 and 1719 to 1736, has annually declined; till the Exportation sunk from 19,202 Hogsheads, inclusive of 622 Hogsheads of refined Sugar *per Annum* from 1715 to 1736, to 5211 Hogsheads,

heads, and continued still sinking, till the Exportation fell to little more than half that Number, when Almighty God was pleased to bless the *national* Fleets and Armies in *America* with astonishing Success against our Enemy, in the present War.

Q. Who supplied the foreign Markets with the remaining 74,789 Hogsheads?

A. *France* did before the War, *Great Britain* since; for *Spain* and *Holland* do not raise Sugars enough for their own Consumption, therefore they cannot supply any foreign Market.

Q. Where does *France* raise that large Quantity of Sugars sufficient to serve all *Europe*, over and above her own Consumption?

A. From *Martinico*, *Guadaloupe*, *Marigalante*, and *St. Lucia*, and her Part of *Hispaniola*.

Q. As we have taken all these rich Sugar Plantations from *France*, except the last, at a very great Expence, why will you restore to *France* Places, from whence she drew such immense Riches, as enabled her to reduce your *native* Country to extreme Despair and the Brink of Ruin; and thereby restore your faithless and inveterate Enemy to that tremendous Strength and Magnitude, by Sea and Land; the Consequences of which lately so much alarmed *Great Britain*?

A. *France* will not make Peace with us if we do not give up all these with *Goree*; without which, she cannot have Negroes, and many other valuable Branches of Trade; nor without we give her also the Fishery for a Nursery for Seamen, whom the Sale of the Fish caught will pay.

Q. Are you induced tamely to surrender most of the Advantages of the War, because you have not Talents to conduct a War? or because you think we cannot bear the profuse Expences of a continental War, useless and ruinous to *Britain*; and that *France* will not let us have a Peace in *Germany*; without

which *H—r* cannot be safe, if we act a wise Part, and recal Home our Troops? Or do both these Reasons co-operate?

A. Hum—Hum—Hum.

Q. Do you not know, if you advise your Master to make an unsafe and dishonourable Peace, tending to raise *France* again from her present low Condition, to her late dangerous Prosperity, which had almost undone *Great Britain*, and threatened her and all the States of *Europe* with *French* Slavery, under universal Monarchy; do you not know, I say, that the People are in Possession of an undoubted Right, as antient as the Entrance of the *Saxons*, and confirmed a-fresh to them at the Revolution by the Bill of Rights, to lay their Grievances before the Throne, and to petition for Redress, and for the Removal of evil Councillors? And do you not know likewise, that the People have a Right to lay their Grievances before their Representatives assembled in Parliament, and petition them to bring Ministers to the Bar of Justice, for Misbehaviour in Administration; and that the Commons of *Great Britain* can, in Parliament assembled, impeach Ministers; and that if they are proved guilty, the Lords can inflict Punishments adequate to their Crimes; and that the two Houses of a *British* Parliament can with the Royal Assent (if necessary or expedient) *confiscate Estates*, and *condemn* to the Scaffold or Gibbet, even by a Law *ex post facto*? What Reason then have you to imagine, that *all these* will not exercise their several Rights, and discharge the Duties they owe the Community they are Members of, whenever the very Existence of their Country is at Stake; and the Preservation of it depends, upon an *Exaction* of the *severest* JUSTICE?

A. Oh Mercy! Mercy! Mercy!

To such an Answer the People would be (I believe) very apt to reply, JUSTICE—JUSTICE—JUSTICE—HEADS and CONFISCATIONS.

But, my Lord and Sirs, let us return to our Computations, which will evince the Folly and Danger of restoring any Thing to *France*, or making any Peace with her; at least, before we have driven, that all devouring wild Beast, out of every Part of *America*.

We have seen in the preceding Sheets, that the Plantations, *Gorée*, and the Fishery are Springs, whence stream immense national Commerce, Riches, and Strength, both in internal and external; and that our perfidious, thieving, irreconcilable Enemy hath received the Benefits arising from them, superior to *Great Britain*, in a Degree most amazing, frightful, and alarming; a Degree that very lately threatened a *full Period* to the national Existence of this Island; and will, one Day or other, certainly put a *full Period* to it, if we cede or restore any one Thing to her in *America*, or *Africa*. The only Difference to us will be, that we shall sink into a *French Province*, and become *French Slaves*, sooner or later, according to the Number of Concessions we shall make, and Conquests we shall restore.

This will more clearly appear, from the following State of the Ballance of Trade between *Great Britain* and *France*, with respect to the Importation of Bullion and foreign Coin.

An Account of Bullion and foreign Coin imported into *Great Britain* and *France*, by Means of the *West India*, *North American*, and *African* Trades; on which I will remark, as I proceed.

The SUGAR PLANTATIONS.

Imported from the Plantations, only in raw Sugar for Exportation to the *European* Markets, — Hogsheds 80,000, at 12*l.* 10*s.* per Hhd. 1,000,000*l.*
Whereof

Whereof *Great Britain* imported, at the Time Mr. *Ashley* published his Book, no more than 5211 Hogfheads; which we will subſtract from the 80,000, and the Remainder were imported by the *French*.

Hogfheads of Sugar imported	—	80000
By <i>Great Britain</i> , Ditto	—	5211

Remainder imported by <i>France</i>	—	74789
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Next let us ſee what theſe Sugars bring in, clear Profit, to each Nation in Bullion and foreign Coin; for, what we ſaid before, reſpects only the Subſiſtance of their People, by the Manufactures, wherewith they purchaſe Negroes to cultivate their Colonies, and augment their internal, and, in ſome Degree, their external Strength, &c.

25^l per Cent. is, I believe, a moderate Advance, on Sugars valued at 1,000,000^l. when exported to foreign Markets; of which Sugars are exported

By <i>Great Britain</i> 5211	Imported by <i>France</i>	
Hhds, at 12 ^l . 10s. valued at home amounts to 65137 ^l . ſold at foreign Markets at 25 ^l . per Ct. advance, which is ſo much Bullion, or foreign Coin brought into <i>Britain</i> , and is clear Gain to the Nation; if not to the Merchants,	74789 Hhds. at 12 ^l . 10s. per Hhd. valued at Home, amounts to 934863 ^l . ſold at foreign Markets at 25 ^l . per Cent. profit, is a clear Gain to <i>France</i> of ſo much Bullion or foreign Coin brought into <i>France</i> ,	
	£	£
	81422	1,168,578
Balance in Bullion and foreign Coin in favour of <i>France</i> againſt <i>Great Britain</i> per Annum,	1,087,156	
	1,168,578	1,168,578

The Profit ariſing from Indigo, Ginger, Pimento Cotton, Coffee, &c. muſt be in Favour of *France* greatly, for theſe Reaſons: Our Duties upon the the Products of our Plantations are exorbitantly high; and Freight, Wages, and victualling Ships, ſo much dearer than they are in *France*, that ſhe vends not

not only her Sugars, but all the other Products of her Plantations, at least 25 *per Cent.* cheaper than *Great Britain* can; which is the Reason of our losing the foreign Markets, and of the late dangerous Encrease of the *French* Trade, and Growth of her late formidable naval Power. And these Misfortunes have been entirely owing to our impolitic interfering in *German* Quarrels and continental Connections, which we have been unfortunately drawn into by a Predilection for *H*****, which one might hope is now at an End; when we have the Happiness to see a Prince on the Throne, who has assured us from it, *that his Heart is intirely British*. These unnational and ruinous Connections with the Continent, from whence *Great Britain* can reap no Advantage, have not only prevented us from discharging our *Plantations* and *northern Colonies* of those heavy Duties, and the Mother Countries of those heavy Taxes, which has given *France* the Means of serving the foreign Markets 25 *per Cent.* cheaper than *Britain* can, by paying off the national Debt of 46,000,000*l.* left by *Queen Anne*; but have encreased that Load of Debt to the monstrous Sum of about 130,000,000*l.* But to return to the Products of the *French* Plantations of Indigo, Ginger, &c.

What the exact Quantity of these several Products of the Plantations is, or what Value they bear in the Mother Countries; how much exported to foreign Markets, and what Prices they fetch there, I am not able to say. But surely, if we estimate them in foreign Markets at no more than One-fifth of the Sale of the *French* Sugars, we cannot greatly err.

France then we see sells her 74,789 Hhds of Sugar at foreign Markets for the Amount of £. 1,168,578
The fifth Part of which will be about - 233,716

Total Sale in foreign Markets of Products 1,402,294

Great Britain, we will say, sells the Quantity of the same Products in foreign Markets, in the same Proportion :

Her Vend of Sugars amounts to	—	£. 81,422
The fifth Part of which is about	—	16,284
		<hr/>
		97,706

Sale of Indigo, Ginger, &c. of *Great Britain* to foreign Markets, amounts to about — 16,284
 The Sale of Ditto of *France* to about — 233,716

Total — — — £. 250,000

Upon this 250,000*l.* Profit to the Mother Countries on Indigo, Ginger, &c. how stands the Balance ?

<i>Great Britain</i> receives	£.	<i>France</i> receives	£.
only - - -	16,284	—	233,716
By Balance in favour			
of <i>France</i> , - - -	217,432		
	<hr/>		
	233,716		233,716

Now let us see under one View, how the Ballance stands between *Great Britain* and *France*, upon all Products of the Sugar Plantations.

<i>Great Britain</i> received	£.	<i>France</i> received for	£.
for 5211 Hhds of Sugars, from foreign Markets,	81,422	74789 Hhds of Sugars from foreign Markets	1,168,578
For Indigo, Ginger, and other Products,	16,284	For Indigo, Ginger, &c.	233,716
	<hr/>	Total - - - -	<hr/>
Total - - - -	97,706		1,402,294
Balance on the Plantations in Favour			
of <i>France</i> ,	1,304,588		

North America next presents itself to our Consideration. This Trade, perhaps, hath been our main Support, under the last and present *French Wars*; and

and our various *Don Quixote*-Enterprizes upon the Continent, attended with immense, profuse, and extravagant Subsidies; paid in their Turns, just as the mutable Politics of ambitious *H****r* required, not only to all the great and respectable Princes and Powers of *Europe*, but to the little *insignificant* Princes of *Germany*, (I think they call them *Princes*) those *mere* Shadows—those feint Resemblances and farcical Mimics of potent, absolute Monarchs—*little insignificant Princes*, indeed! in all whose *Territories united*, never since the World stood forth, passed so much *Gold* and *Silver*, as since 1714, hath been conveyed into the *most inconsiderable* of all those *inconsiderable* Principalities.—Principalities, indigent to a Degree, that no longer ago than *Queen Anne's* Reign, if in the Richest of them, so small a Sum of Money, as the Amount of 5000*l.* Sterling is, could by any Means have been collected and amassed into one Heap, it is scarce a Question, that Curiosity, natural to the lower Class to see raree Shows, would have drawn from the remotest Confines of the *narrow* Domain, all the *miserable* Slaves of the *petty Despotic*, to behold a Novelty, which had never blessed the Eye-sight of their Fore-fathers; and which, in those Days, they themselves could never have hoped to see again. And I heartily pray *God*, that a *single* Guinea may not, by the Expiration of the present *Century*, if we make *Peace* with *France* upon the most *plausible* Plan talked of, be as great a Novelty, and afford as much Wonder and Transport in this Island.

The Trade of *North America*, I say, hath been, perhaps, under all our late Difficulties and Dangers, our *main* Support. For, from whence could we have been supported, except from our Northern Colonies? The *European* Markets for *European* Goods, since *France* by the Cheapness of Labour and partly by procuring the *English* and *Irish* Wool, had got so

large a Share of them before the War, that if we went Halves with her, perhaps it was as much as we did, would hardly have defrayed the exorbitant Charges of the afore-mentioned un-national Measures.

The *East India* Trade, of which *France* had also a great Share, we all must know would have been insufficient for the Purpose. As to our Sugar Islands : The above given State of their Products and Profits clearly demonstrates their total Inability, to have yielded the least Support to their Mother Country. — For the Fleets and Armies necessary to defend her from the over-growing and menacing Power of *France*, as well as those numerous Land *Forces*, sent, to manure with *British* Blood and mangled Corpses, the sterile Plains of *Germany*, could not be maintained, without fresh and plentiful annual Imports of *Bullion* ; to reimburse the *Millions* lavished upon the aggrandizing of *H****r*, and necessarily expended in Defence of our commercial Rights in *French* and *German* Wars ; of which the *Partiality* of former *Ministers* towards that Electorate, has been the primary and sole Cause. For how could 5211 Hogsheads of Sugars, raw and refined, which is all our Exportation in 1737, inclusive of *Ireland*, (and the Exportation sunk lower, I think, afterwards) possibly return sufficient Profits, to pay such Fleets and Land Armies ; and to reimburse the Nation, for those exorbitant and unjustifiable Sums of *Specie*, exported to *Germany* for the Benefit of *H****r*. All the Service therefore our Sugar Plantations have lately been of to the Mother Country, has been to save her the Cost of her own Consumption ; to supply *Ireland*, and employ the Poor, as far as the joint Consumption of *Britain* and *Ireland* would go, in encouraging our Manufactures.

Had this unhappy Nation been blessed, for this last 50 Years, with *honest* and *wise* Ministers, our Sugar Plantations would have been of that extensive Profit
and

and Advantage to us, which those of *France* have been to her.

This *Inability*, therefore, to succour the *Mother Country* farther than I have observed, is not owing to any *Deficiency* in the Products of our Plantations, but to a *Deficiency* in the *Abilities* and *Honesty* of our M——rs ; who, for continental Interests, have neglected to pay off the publick Debt, and take off the heavy Duties upon those Products ; thereby enabling the *French* (who have been very careful to encourage their Settlements) to undersel us in the foreign Markets. And happy, thrice happy is it for us, though our Northern Colonies have not been less taxed, nor better treated, than the Sugar Islands, that *France* hath not had Time yet to people and cultivate their Northern Colonies, sufficiently to interfere with the Products of ours. If they had the Products of our Northern Colonies, would have gone to Market under the like Disadvantages with our Sugars, and have been of no more Benefit to us in our Distress.

A State of the Products of our Northern Colonies, and the Profits of Bullion and foreign Coin.

VIRGINIA and MARYLAND.

Tobacco imported into <i>Great Britain</i> annually upon the Average——Hogsheads	} £. 975,000
65,000, Value here at 15 <i>l.</i> per Hogshead	
Home Consumption about 20,000 Hhds.	————
Remainder exported——Hogsheads 45,000	£. 675,000
Advance on the said at 25 per Cent.	168,750
Total Profit on exported Tobacco — —	843,750

CAROLINA.

Mr. *Ashley*, in his *Memoirs and Considerations*, assures us, that *Carolina*, in a good Year, will produce 80,000 Barrels of Rice of 4 Cwt. *per* Barrel; and upon a Medium of seven Years, makes 50,000 Barrels *per Annum*; that 2000 Barrels are consumed in Great Britain and Ireland, *p.* 18. Rice imported into *Great Britain*, Barrels 50,000 Value Sterling annually to *Great Britain* 80,000*l.* as Mr. *Ashley* says this, after mentioning 48,000 Barrels exported, that 80,000*l.* I suppose, is the Principal and Profit of the 50,000 Barrels; so will only value it - - } 80000

New England, New York, Pennsylvania are mighty Benefactors to *Great Britain* in the Consumption of her Manufactures of Apparel, for the Inhabitants of these Provinces, and their Negroes, and almost of every other Kind of Manufactures; besides the great Quantities of them vended upon the Coast of *Africa*, for the Purchase of Negroes. But they do not confine their Blessings here: Their Products imported are extremely useful, and absolutely necessary, both in our Shipping and Manufactures; such as we cannot be without, and must therefore buy them of other Countries, and chiefly with our Money; since we must have them from Places, that will take little or nothing of us, but our Money: As *France* and the Northern Countries, who, though they must have warm Cloathing, will certainly prefer the *French* Market, where they can be furnished much cheaper than by *Great Britain*; whose *Specie* thus goes out to pay for the necessary Raiment of the Northern Countries. So that if these Provinces were of no other Advantage than employing our Poor, and saving the national *Specie*, these alone would be very great. And

And, with Respect to the last, let us remember the old *Adage*, “ a *Penny* saved is a *Penny* got.” But some of our Manufactures, worked up with these Materials, may perhaps find foreign Markets; and such of them that do, certainly bring in Bullion.

Whatever Benefits may arise from these Products, as the Exports may be very few, and not knowing the exact Quantity, we cannot carry them to the Account of Importation of Bullion and foreign Coin; and, indeed, 'tis *unnecessary*, as the *French Northern Colonies* are to *France*, as yet of no other Benefit than ours are to us, and indeed scarce so much. But if she is permitted to retain any Part of *North America*, there can be no Doubt she will try at *Tobacco*, *Rice*, and whatever else of our Settlements, introduce Bullion to the *Mother Country*. *Virginia* and *Maryland* may then spare the far greatest Part of their Care and Industry, in the Cultivation of their Lands. For the Product of *Tobacco*, being so heavily taxed here; and *France* being thereby enabled to carry that Commodity as much cheaper than *Great Britain*, as they now do their *Sugars*, the Demand for the *Tobacco* of *Virginia* and *Maryland* will, like that of the *Sugars* of our Plantations, be reduced to the Consumption of their *Mother Country*, and *Ireland*; which is much the same Thing; and we shall loose that Fountain, whence we now draw such Stores of Bullion and foreign Coin.

Hudson's Bay is certainly a very profitable and rich Trade; but being in few Hands, of a very small Company of Merchants, who keep the Profits, as much as possible, a Secret among themselves, an exact Discovery of the national Advantages accruing from it, may not, perhaps, be so easily made. However, we may be satisfied, they are very considerable; but yet not so exceeding great, but that they may be balanced, or even exceeded by the *French Trade* in the same Commodities, with which the *Indians* supply

ply it; and which are brought down the *Mississippi* into the Gulph of *Mexico*, to be brought to *Europe*.

Newfoundland Fishery is the last Consideration, with respect to *North America*; a weighty and important Consideration indeed! I shall here, my good old Friends and Masters, trouble you with few more Observations, than are absolutely necessary, from the Nature of so momentous a Concern; having annexed to this Letter, a Transcript from the *British-Merchant*, which will convey to such of my Fellow-Citizens, whose Trades and Occupations may not *directly* lead them to Enquiries of this Kind; though every Individual must, in some Degree, more or less, be concerned in this Subject; the fatal Consequences inevitable, of permitting *France*, or any Nation, the Enjoyment of any Privilege or Liberty in those Seas.

The Objects then of our present Consideration are two, *viz.*

The Profits arising from the *Newfoundland* Fishery, with respect to the Importation of Bullion and foreign Coin into *Great Britain*.

The support and Augmentation of that naval Power, that shall enjoy them.

And first for the first of these. The Profits arising from the *Newfoundland* Fishery; these are annually very great, Mr. *Ashley* says, p. 18 and 19 of his *Memoirs and Considerations*, &c. that from *Newfoundland*, *New England*, and *Nova Scotia*, there are about 300 Sail of Ships, great and small; or about 30000 Tons of Shipping employed annually in carrying Fish to *Portugal*, *Spain*, and *Italy*; which employ about 2700 Seamen; and may, by a Circulation in Trade, return to *Great Britain* about 260,000*l.* Sterling *per annum* in this Article of Fish; besides Train-Oil, and Whale-bone; of which there may be imported into *Great Britain* to the Value of 40000*l.* annually and upwards: and it is computed, that about two Thirds of all these Advantages arise from the Fishery of *Newfoundland* only.

only. How much of this Train-Oil and Whale-bone may be re-exported, I cannot say. But it is plain, from Mr. *Ashley's* Account, that 260,000*l.* Sterling is annually brought into *Great-Britain*, from the Article of Fish alone. Let us suppose then, that so much of the Train-Oil and Whale-bone is exported, either in manufactured or unmanufactured Goods, as will bring in the above Value of 40,000*l.* Sterling into *Great Britain*. Then the whole Sum of 300,000*l.* would be returned to *Great Britain* in Bullion.—This then is allowing the utmost Profit to this Nation upon the Fishery.

In the Preliminaries herein early mentioned, that give *France* a Right to send as many Ships as she pleases to *North America*, an Observation is thrown in, and I believe it to be true, that she usually employed annually from 1200 to 1500 Ships in that Trade. I am informed, that the Number of Ships employed to *Canada* and the other *French* Settlements which lye behind ours, seldom exceed Six; which are loaded with Fur-Trees, and Furs bought of the Indians; and all her other Trade upon the Continent of *America*. If these two Facts are true, as I am credibly informed they are, a most melancholy Prospect opens to the View of every honest *Briton*.—A Prospect of nothing better than a total Annihilation of the Naval Power of *Great Britain*, and her Reduction to the miserable Condition of a *French* Province. For, if she usually employed from 1200 to 1500 Ships in that Trade annually, there must be employed each Year, upon the Average, 1350; and if only six of them in her own Continent, the Remainder (*viz.*) 1344 could be employed no where but in the Fishery. Then *Great Britain* having employed no more than 300 Ships in that Fishery, and thereby gained no more than 300,000*l.* per Annum.—*France* that employed about four Times and a half as many Ships in that Trade, must have gained about four Times and a half

as much as *Great Britain*; that is, about 1,350,000*l.* for if 300 Ships give 300000, 1350 Ships being four Times and a half that Number, must give four Times and a half as much; unless the *French* Ships are of a different Size from ours. But the *French* are too wise to send smaller, and larger would turn the Scale more in their Favour. But let us see the Account of this pretty Present, that we are about to make *France*, with respect to the Ballance of Bullion.

State of the Ballance of Bullion Imported into the Mother Countries from the Newfoundland Fishery.

GREAT BRITAIN		FRANCE	
receives for Fish	£	receives for	£
exported,	300,000	ditto	1,350,000
		<hr/>	
Ballance in Favour of <i>France</i> ,		1,050,000	

I proceed to the second Object of our Consideration, *viz.* The Support and Augmentation of that Naval Power that shall enjoy them.

And here we have a sad Presage of the inevitable Subversion of our naval Power; and, consequently, of our future Subjection to *French* Tyranny: For how will it be possible to elude the Yoke, when that Nation is become so greatly superior to us, in Commerce, Riches, and naval Power, as *France* must necessarily be rendered, by permitting her to cast her Nets and Lines in the Seas of *America*? A short State of the different Number of Seamen employed in our Fishery and that of *France*, will at one View evince the Necessity of refusing her this destructive Liberty.

But I shall first make the following Observation on Mr. *Ashley*'s Calculation. That altho' he has set forth the Number of Ships and Men employed in carrying the *Fish* when caught and cured, to the *European* Markets; yet he has wholly omitted the Number of Ships and Men employed, first in catching and curing the said *Fish*, and afterwards carrying home to the Mother

Mother Countries, the Oil produced from the Liver of the Codfish, and the Men employed in the Fishery.

I shall make no Addition to his Number of Ships, altho' that would be very considerable ; but in order to open a View to my Country of that great Nursery of Seamen, the Source of her Naval Strength and Power, and which will give the Sovereignty of the Sea to such Nation as shall become possessed of the same, it will be absolutely necessary for me to bring into this Computation the Number of Men employed in it.

There are two Fisheries for Codfish belonging to *Newfoundland* ; one is called the Bank, the other the Shore Fishery. The first is Fish caught in Ships on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, and is therefore called Bank Fish ; the last is Fish caught in open Boats on Shoals or Ledges near the Shore, and for that Reason is called Shore Fish. To this last I shall confine myself, as in no Respect, it interferes with Mr. *Ashley's* Computation, and will sufficiently shew the vast Importance of the *Newfoundland* Fishery : altho' if the Men employed in the *Newfoundland*, *New England* and *Nova Scotia* Bank Fisheries were to be enumerated, they would, no doubt of it, greatly enlarge the Account.

Before the last War, *England* had no less than 1000 Boats annually employed in the Shore Fishery of *Newfoundland*, from *Pigoa* round to *Placentia* and *St. Peter's*. To each Boat is generally allowed 4 Fishermen and 2 Shore men : Then by this Computation, the Number of Men employed, before the last War, in the *English Newfoundland* Shore Fishery only, amounted annually to 6000, which added to the 2700 computed by Mr. *Ashley*, makes 8700 Men annually employed.

The *French*, by Mr. *Ashley's* Calculation, having four times and a half as many Ships and Men employed in carrying their Fish to Market, as the *English* had one would imagine they should have four times

and a half as many more Men employed in Catching, and Curing their Fish; but as their Mud-Fish does not require as many hands to Cure it as the Baccaloea, I shall suppose them to have had only three Times the quantity employed in the Shore Fishery the *English* had, *Viz.* 3000 Boats and 18000 Men, which being added to 12096 Seamen, Mr. *Ashley's* Computation, makes 30096 Men annually employed by *France* in her *American* Fisheries before the last War, and that both Nations employed annually 38866 Men, every one of which being so much used to the Sea as to be made on his first Entrance on board a Man of War an useful Seaman; and of this great Number *France* annually employed 21396 Men more than *England* did. This Calculation is so moderate that no other Exception can be made to it, but its being much below the Mark, and in Fact what it really should be.

A State of the Number of British and French Ships and Seamen employed in the Fishery.

GREAT BRITAIN employed in the Newfoundland Fishery.			FRANCE employed in the Newfoundland Fishery.		
Ships		Seamen, &c.	Ships		Seamen.
300		8700	1344		30,096
Balance	1,044	21,396		300	8700
<hr/>			<hr/>		
1,344		30,096	superior to Britain 1044		21,396

A State of the Number of Ships and Seamen employed by Great Britain and France, upon the whole Trade to North America.

GREAT BRITAIN employed,			FRANCE employed		
Ships.		Seamen.	Ships.		Seamen.
In Tobacco	400	3600			
In Rice - - -	100	1000			
In Fishery - -	300	8700	In Fishery	1344	30,096
In the rest of } the Colonies, }	300	2700	In the rest of their } Colonies, }	6	54
<hr/>			<hr/>		
Total	1100	15,000	Total	1350	30,150
Balance	250	14,250	Deduct	1100	15,900
<hr/>			<hr/>		
1,350		30,150	Superior to Britain 250		14,250
			Here		

Here I beg it may be carefully observed, how vastly superior *France* appears to *Great Britain*, in Ships and Seamen, by this very Fishery alone; which furnisheth her with about 250 Ships, and about 14,250 Seamen more than our Share, and all our Northern Colonies together do *Great Britain*.

We will now, my Lord and Sirs, if you please, take a View of the naval Strength of *Great Britain* and *France*, arising from the Sugar Plantations.—— No agreeable Prospect,

Great Britain then, having, before the War, but about *one-fifteenth* Part of the 80,000 Hogsheads of Sugars imported into *Europe*, for Re-exportation to *Germany*, &c. she could employ in that Importation no more of the 400 Ships employed in it, than one-fifteenth Part; which is about 26 Ships: And, consequently, she could employ no more than one-fifteenth Part of the Seamen in it; which is about 240; So that, with respect to the Navigation from our Sugar Plantations, *France* hath a vast Superiority over *Great Britain*, in Ships and Seamen.

A State of Ships and Seamen of Great Britain and France.

		Ships.	Seamen.			Ships.	Seamen.
Great Britain employed	}	26	—	240	}	France	374 — 3360
							26 — 240
							<hr/>
Remains to France superior to G. Britain						348	3120

The Trade to *Africa* was to *France*, before the War, very considerable, in Point of Bullion; and of prodigious Advantage, in respect of their Manufactures, &c. and naval Power.

I have never had any Opportunity of attaining a satisfactory Account of the several Branches of this extensive Commerce, and Source of naval Power. But the Gold Dust brought from *Senegal* and *Goree*, must introduce a large Quantity of Bullion into *France*; as must the Gum, which is sufficient both to supply her own Manufactures, and a great Part, I fear, of ours; and, I believe, those of the *Dutch*:

Which must be paid for chiefly in Money. Indeed, I have heard this Article computed at 100,000*l. per Annum* to *France*. Elephants Teeth is likewise another valuable Branch of this Trade; which, when manufactured into numberless Utensils and Toys, what of these are not used in *France*, being exported, bring back some Returns in Bullion or foreign Coin. Over and above these many and great Advantages, what, and how much greater, must arise to *France* from the Negro Trade, both in Respect of the Importation of Bullion, and the Demand of her Manufactures, and the Encrease of her People, and Improvement of her Agriculture, through such an Encouragement of them? Moreover, the Advancement of the three last will be most alarming, if we duly consider, that the Advancement of them must be proportionable to the Superiority of the *French* Trade, in Sugars, to that of the *British*.—For if *Great Britain* has only one-fifteenth Part of the Sugars exported, *France* must have fourteen Fifteenths; and, consequently, the Number of Negroes, necessary to cultivate her Plantations, must be fourteen Times as many, as are required for the same Purpose in the *British*: And there cannot be less than fourteen Times as many Planters, to raise Sugars, Indigo, Ginger, Pimento, Cotton, and Coffee, in the *French* Sugar Settlements; to which we may add fourteen Times as many Ships, and Seamen, employed in that Trade: And the like Proportion of Manufactures, Artificers, and Husbandmen, as are by *Great Britain*. What mighty Wealth must accrue to our faithless, perfidious, irreconcilable Enemy, from this most extensive Traffic? What a Consumption of her Manufactures, by the Goods, with which so many Negroes are bought, as are imported into *New Spain*, and her own Sugar Plantations, and Northern Colonies; and also as are required to cloath, her own Negroes, and Planters? What a Consumption of Manufactures, and of the Produce of Lands at Home, must the Cloathing and Feeding so many industrious People

le and Seamen create? What a swift Progress must *France*, the universal Enemy of Mankind, make in internal and external Strength, under such numerous and mighty commercial Blessings? How soon will her dreadful Fleets overspread the Ocean for our utter Extirpation; and her destroying Armies subdue the other Powers of *Europe*?

In this most prosperous Condition, in this fair Way of accomplishing our Ruin, and her long projected Scheme of universal Monarchy, was *France* before the present War.—In the Reverse, sad, and desponding Condition, was poor unhappy, languishing *Britain*; exhausted of her small Profits upon her Commerce, vastly inferior to those of her treacherous and implacable Foe,—exhausted of most of her Specie in Subsidies to foreign Princes to promote *H—r—n* Interests; again exhausted of her Specie, and the stoutest of her People, to the Neglect of her Manufactures, Commerce, and Agriculture: wherein they were much wanted, and are now much missed; and for no other End, than for the first to be lavished, and the last to be slaughtered in *Germany*, for the Security of *H—r*, the original Cause of our Wars: *France* being encouraged by a ministerial Preference of the Electorate to this Nation, to break the Peace of *Utrecht*, invade and besiege our *American* Rights and Possessions; after having first, even in Time of profound Peace, like Thieves, clandestinely stolen and purloined such Valuables in that Region, as they would not have dared to touch with a Finger, if they had not been heartened to the Attempt, by their Assurance of that unnatural Preference of the Sons of *Britain*: Who, if they presumed, though in the humble Strains, to expostulate with the *French* Court against the Injustice of their Thefts, were instantly answered in the Style of Highwaymen. Deliver—or—we'll blow out your Brains; we will attack *H——r*.—*O spare us, spare us!* don't touch our Vitals, take all we have, only spare *H——r!* I say, in this prosperous Condition was *France*, before

fore the present War—In this sad, and desponding Condition was then *Great Britain*: When Providence, in Mercy to us, was pleased to raise up Mr. *Pitt* for our Deliverance.

He by the Wisdom of his Councils, by the uncorruptible Integrity of his Heart, by the invariable Firmness of his Resolution, and by the invincible Power of his mighty Genius, encountered and surmounted all our Difficulties; and freed us from all our Distresses and Perils, that had well nigh swallowed us up; and, as he and we all thought, set us upon a Rock of Security, out of the Reach both of our foreign and intestine Foes: And all this he did for us with the enormous Weight of continental Measures upon our Backs; while he himself *doubtless* sensible, as any Man, of their Fatality, was constrained publicly to espouse, what he must inwardly detest. He knew, that his Country must instantly perish under the crushing Load of continental Connections; that nothing could protract *her* Fall, but *that* of *France*: And, that the only Way to effect it, was to drive her intirely out of *America*; and, by gaining her Settlements, and engrossing her Commerce, enable this Nation, by the accruing Riches, to defray the heavy Charges of the *German* and *Gallie* Wars; and afterwards raise her naval Power and Grandeur to a higher State than ever: A Scheme so arduous and glorious, was far out of the Reach of the other Ministers Abilities. It was suited only to those of our Patriot, the great and wise Projector of it. Their shallow Penetrations could not comprehend an Object of that Magnitude, They could not conceive an Undertaking, pregnant with Uncertainty, could ever be attended with the Success that Experience hath taught them was possible and practicable. What therefore is reported, is probable to be true; that the Ministry, dreading the Power of Mr. *Pitt's* Eloquence within Doors, and the Weight of his Popularity without, suffered him to make an Experiment which they thought impossible to succeed; and

and which, if it should miscarry, would end in his Disgrace, and infallibly ruin his Credit and Interest with the People, under the Notion of his being a rash Projector. Mr. *Pitt* well knew, if he did not publicly support the continental System his Heart condemned, he should be driven from that Station, in which only he could execute his own great *American* Plan; the Success whereof could alone preserve his Country from unavoidable Perdition attending the *German* War, without the noble Acquisition of all *America*, consented to carry on continental Measures, odious to the whole Nation, even at a most exorbitant Expence; being absolutely certain, that his Opposition to them could neither have prevented the Measures, nor lessened the Expence. This, I hope, may be sufficient to vindicate the seeming Impropriety of this great and honest Statesman's Conduct, in this Particular; and to explain the finest Stroke of all his Eloquence; which being capable of a double Construction, hath been taken, by the People, in the Sense it was certainly designed to be taken by the Ministry; and hath, I am sorry to hear, lessened that high and just Esteem, and Affection for him, in the City, which his great Merits, and incomparable Services to the Nation, justly deserve from the Publick: And to which, when I have explained farther the Expression I allude to, I hope for your own, and your Country's Sakes, you will restore him in as ample a Degree as he lately enjoyed them.

His Expression was, if I have been rightly informed, "That *America* can only be conquered in *Germany*."—And where is the Absurdity, or Iniquity of this Maxim? Did Mr. *Pitt* ever avow, that spending *British* Blood and Treasure in *Germany*, was the only right Way of conquering *America*? Doth not the Expression imply plainly enough, that proper Measures would never be permitted by some Persons to be taken for the Conquest of *America*, unless the *German* War went Hand in Hand with it? The Expression is ambiguous, and may be construed in the

Manner

Manner it hath; that is, the only right Way of conquering *America*: But in this Ambiguity consists the great Beauty of this Stroke of Eloquence, and the perfect Skill of the Speaker. At the Time that he conveys, or rather insinuates, to the Publick the Necessity he is under of supporting the continental System, he could not prevent, in order to induce some Persons to agree to attempt the Conquest of *America*; he effectually guards himself against any malicious Construction of his Words by those, upon whose Friendship he had perhaps little Reason to depend.

Permit me then, my good and worthy old Friends and Masters, to recommend to you that unviolable Love for Mr. *Pitt*, and that firm Confidence in his Integrity, which is not only due to him, for all the glorious Effects of his wise Administration and unparalleled Virtues, but absolutely necessary for our instant Preservation in the present Danger; and for the future Security, Prosperity, and Glory of this Country. For who is so able, or willing, to rescue us out of the Hands of ignorant Pride and Ambition, when they expose us to Ruin, as the *Man* that has already rescued this Island out of the Hands of *France*; humbled that haughty Nation; reduced her tremendous Power to nothing; and laid her Glory in the Dust? Who is so proper to be confided in, in Respect either of Ability or Integrity, as the Man that hath protected our Merchants, and our Commerce; restored our naval Power; and revived the fallen Honour of the *British* Flag: Extended our Traffic to the most distant Regions of the Globe; put us in Possession of a fourth Part of it; and made us once more Lords of the whole Ocean?

Can we ever slight such a Friend, without the Censure of Ingratitude; or by an unjust Suspicion debar ourselves of the Assistance of his Abilities and Fidelity, without the Imputation of Folly?

And shall we then, my Lords and Sirs, when the Bill of Rights hath so lately removed all Obstructions
in

in the Passage to the Throne, and our Constitution opens an easy Access to both Houses of Parliament, stand by inactive, and behold silent all the mighty Blessings derived from Mr. *Pitt's* honest and illustrious Administration, given back to a deceitful, insolent, and implacable Foe ; only with the Dash of a Pen, guided by the Hand of Ignorance and Inability ?—Shall we thus behold given back the Fruits of so much Toil, the Cost of Seas of Blood, and Mountains of Treasure ?

But this brings me back from this long Digression, to consider all the Preliminaries, reported of the approaching Peace.

In doing which I shall endeavour to shew, that all the Preliminaries of Peace talked of, are in their Nature, and will be in their Consequence, destructive to the Commerce and national Independency of this Country ; in-as-much as they must necessarily restore *France* to that internal and external Strength, wherein *Great Britain* found her at the Commencement of the present War : And if the over-hasty Temper of that Nation would have permitted a Forbearance of twenty or thirty Years longer, of the Exertion of that Strength, it would have got to such a Head, that nothing could have resisted it ; and *Great Britain* must have been over-whelmed and lost for ever.

As the Riches and naval Power of *France*, arising from *America* and *Africa*, are the Bases, on which the Arguments to prove what I have above advanced, are built ; it will not be improper to place before you, in one View, what has been hitherto dispersed in these Sheets, relative to the Importation of Bullion into *France*, by Means of their Sugar Plantations, the Fishery, and *Africa* ; and also to place before you, in one View, the Increase of their naval Power, arising from those Branches of Commerce ; and both compared with *Great Britain* in those Respects.

*Sugar Plantations,**Great Britain.*

Received for 5211 Hhds of Sugars from	}	81,422
foreign Markets - - -		
— for Indigo, Ginger, and other products,		16,284
		<hr/> 97,790
To balance - - - - -		1,304,588

Newfoundland Fishery.

Received for Fish exported, - - -	300,000
	<hr/> 300,000
To balance - - - - -	1,050,000

Virginia and Maryland,

Received for 45,000 Hhds of Tobacco	}	843,750
exported, - - - - -		
		<hr/> 843,750

Carolina.

Received for 600 Barrels of Rice exported,	80,000
	<hr/> 80,000
To balance in favour of France, -	1,430,838
	<hr/>
	£. 2,752,294

North American Trade.

	Ships	Men.
In Tobacco - - - - -	400	3600
In Rice - - - - -	100	900
In the Newfoundland Fishery	300	8700
In the Rest of the Colonies,	300	2700
	<hr/> 1100	<hr/> 15,900

Sugar Plantations.

Great Britain employs - - -	26	240
	<hr/> 26	<hr/> 240
To balance in favour of France,	598	17,370
	<hr/> 1724	<hr/> 33,510

*Sugar Plantations.**France.*

Received for 74,789 Hhds of Sugars	}	1,168,578
from foreign Markets,		
— for Indigo, Ginger, &c.		233,716
		<hr/> 1,402,294
By balance for 69,578 Hhds, &c. ex-	}	1,304,588
ported more than <i>Great Britain</i> ,		

Newfoundland Fishery.

Received for Fish exported,	-	1,350,000
		<hr/> 1,350,000
By balance in Exportation of more	}	1,050,000
Fish than <i>Great Britain</i> ,		

*Virginia and Maryland.**Carolina.**North American Trade.*

			<hr/> £ 2,752,294 <hr/>
	<i>Ships</i>	<i>Men.</i>	
In the <i>Newfoundland Fishery</i> ,	1344	30,096	
In the rest of their Colonies,	6	54	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	1350—30,150
<i>France superior to Britain</i> ,	250	14,250	

Sugar Plantations.

<i>France employs</i>	-	374	3360	
		<hr/>	<hr/>	
<i>France superior to Britain</i> ,		348	3120	374 3,360
				<hr/>
				1,724 33,510
				<hr/>

We see, in these Accounts of Bullion annually imported into *France*, and of the Increase of her naval Power, two such Ballances as are enough to strike every *Briton* with Amazement and Horror; and such, as one would imagine, must open the Eyes of the blindest Buzzard in the C—b—n—t; and soften the most obdurate Heart there, tho' harder than Adamant itself.

We see *Great Britain* before the War jostled by *French* Artifice and Industry, aided by *British* M—t—r—l Partiality for a foreign Territory, Negligence and Cowardice, out of two of the most valuable Branches of her Commerce, the Sugars, and the Fishery.—We see her naval Power daily declining, and that of *France* augmenting, by the almost intire Engrossment of these noble Branches of Trade; which raise and maintain such a Number of Seamen, the greatest Part of them being nurtured in that very Fishery; in which it is reported, we are going to give the *French* a right to Fish again, under such Restrictions, that we may be sure these renowned Treaty-Breakers will observe no longer, than they are too weak to break through them.

We see *France* with Regard to the Importation of Bullion, augmenting in Riches annually, by an Importation of it to the Amount of 2,752,294*l.* and all arising only from their Sugar Plantations, and the Fishing in *our* Seas: of which immense Sum they received from the former 1,402,294*l.* and from the latter 1,350,000*l.* while poor unhappy *Britain*, the constant Prey of *France*, and the whole Continent of *Europe*; and the ever unnatural Sacrifice of her own degenerate Sons, imported from her reduced Sugar Plantations—from her own Fishery, and from all her Colonies in *North America*, no more than 1,321,456*l.* so that *France* before the War imported into *France*, from only their Plantations, and our Fishery 1,430,838*l.* more than

than *Great Britain* did from those two Sources of Wealth, and all her Northern Colonies besides.

And here I desire it may be observed, that tho' the *French* appear to be possessed of fourteen Times more of the *African* Trade, than we are; and, consequently, from it import fourteen times more Bullion, and grow fourteen Times more in naval Strength, than we do; Yet, for want of proper Information, I have brought nothing to the above Accounts, in Respect to either of these. But surely, if the Amount of Bullion imported into *France* by, and the Ships and Seamen employed in the *African* Trade, were to be added to the above Accounts, they would swell them greatly.

I shall now, my Lord and Sirs, consider the *famous* Preliminaries, said to be at this Time in Agitation; and endeavour to shew, in what Manner the above mentioned Ballance of Bullion, and Superiority in Ships and Seamen, will be affected by them. And then I believe, no honest *Briton* whatever will think himself obliged (if such Preliminaries are really in Agitation) in the least to our Illustrious Peace-Makers; or hold either their Abilities or Integrity in the least Veneration.

I freely own, that if upon the whole Trade of the World carried on by *Great Britain* and *France*, we had but as great a Ballance in our Favour, as appears to be only by suffering *France* to supply her home Consumption of Fish, the Ballance would in Point of Bullion imported, be rather in our Favour, if we could have an undoubted Security that that artful People, ever watchful over their own Interest, and ready to destroy their Neighbours, would not soon worm us out of it, through the Assistance of the Negligence, Ignorance, or perhaps Corruption of our future Ministers, in the same Manner they have hitherto done.

The Ballance in Favour of *Great Britain* upon the whole Trade of *America*, (*viz.*) the Plantations, Northern

Northern Colonies and the Fishery allowing for the home Consumption of Fish in *France* 600,000*l.* would be 369,162*l.* which if our whole Sale of Tobacco and Rice was to be paid for in Bullion, as it is not, since we purchase with it many Commodities, either useful in our Shipping or to supply our Luxury: in particular so much of our Tobacco, as we export to *France*, she pays for in Wines, &c. to the Value, as I have been informed, of 100,000*l.* Sterling. But as this must be, and ought to be deducted, it reduces the said 669,162*l.* to no more than 369,162*l.* And even this too depends upon our confining *France* to her home Consumption of *Mud Fish*; which we may be morally certain, we never shall. For as that Nation hath never scrupled to break all the Treaties, she bound herself by; whenever she thought herself strong enough to support the Violation of them, we cannot without the most foolish Credulity believe, she will Act with punctual Honour hereafter, or that our future Ministers will be more circumspect and careful than their Predecessors have been, to hold her to a strict Observance of the Restriction, of supplying her home Consumption only. Besides, *France*, by navigating cheaper, and the Situation of her Ports in *Europe* hath a double Advantage in serving *Portugal*, *Spain* and *Italy* cheaper, and throwing such Quantities into those Markets, occasionally as will render that Commodity a Dreg, and greatly lessen the Price of it. These Advantages will be an irresistible Temptation to *French* Faith, to fish for Baccaloea, and cure it on those Stages, and drying Rooms that are reported (since I began this Letter) to be allowed them on *Newfoundland*. Under this *Permission* they may load what Quantity of Baccaloea (which is the Sort of Fish only consumed by the *Portuguese*, *Spaniards*, and *Italians*,) in the Ships allowed them, together with Mud Fish for their own Consumption; which is what the *French* only consume. By the help of this, they may soon
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turn this small Balance in their own Favour, and will, in no long Time, again worm us out of the Fishery; for which we shall have no better Security, than the Faith of *France*, and the Wisdom, Fortitude, and Integrity of *British* Ministers: Who, if we may judge from past Experience, if the common Bully of *Europe* presents *H——r* at them, as a Highway-man does a Pistol at a Traveller, will patiently suffer him to rob *Great Britain* of these her most valuable Rights and Possessions, or any other whatever.

And that *France* designs to recover this immense Source of Riches and Nursery of Seamen, in Consequence of this Preliminary, is (I think) indisputably manifest, from her *insisting* upon a *Permission* to erect *Stages*, and other Conveniencies, upon *Newfoundland*, for *drying* and *curing* her Fish. For if she intended nothing more than the *Supply* of her *Home Consumption*, she could have no *Occasion* for such *Stages* and drying Rooms; since she consumes only the *Mud Fish*: For which, *Stages* and drying Rooms are not *necessary*; whereas they are *absolutely so* for curing the *Baccaloea*, which is the *only* Consumption of *Portugal*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. Can then any Man be so completely stupid, as to imagine that *France*, if she did not *intend* and *hope* to supply those Markets again would desire a *Permission* to erect *Stages*, &c. to cure *Baccaloea*; and be at the Labour and Charge of thus preparing it, only to throw it away? And will our ingenious *Quid Nuncs* be so *easily* caught with a *French Gudgeon*?

It may not be improper here to forestal, what you will find in the Appendix; where you will see, that *France*, in *Charles the First's* Reign, paid an Acknowledgment of five *per Cent.* for the Permission of Fishing in those Seas; which is a Proof of the *Antiquity* of our *sole* Right in them; though she soon afterwards found Means to influence our Court so far, as to obtain a Remission of that Acknowledgment.

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You will find also, that at the Peace of *Utrecht*, she had made so great a Progress in that Branch of Commerce, that she employed 400 Ships in it; which is 100 more than we employed before the present War. And since that Peace, she has made a most astonishing Progress therein, having encreased her Number of 400 Ships just mentioned to 1200 or 1500; which, at a Medium, is 1344 Ships *per Annum*. For if she sent to *North America* 1350, and employed only six Ships in her Colonies, the Residue 1344 could be used in no Part of that Region, but in the Fishery. And this proves the Verity of the *British Merchant*, who tells us in the Appendix, that the *French* are so extremely sensible of the *prodigious* Advantage of this Fishery, and so very intent upon pursuing it, that from their *first Attempt* to make themselves *considerable* at Sea, they had it *perpetually* in View.—And then if this be so, who will have the *Impudence* to deny, that they will have it *perpetually* in View, 'till by intirely divesting them of their whole *American* and *African* Trade, which last is an Appendage of the former, we shall have drawn out of the Teeth and Fangs of the voracious and insatiable Beast of Prey; which we ought to do, both for our own Preservation, and for that of the Rest of *Europe*: and this more especially we ought to do, since *France*, by *insisting* upon a *Permission* to erect *Stages* and other Conveniences on *Newfoundland* for curing *Baccaloea*, a Commodity suited only for the Markets of *Portugal*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, hath openly avowed her firm Resolution to drive *Great Britain* out of that most *enriching* Branch of her Commerce—and nursing Mother of her naval Power,

Moreover if we take into the Consideration the Restitution of *Goree*, the Possession whereof must, for the Reasons already enumerated, give *France* such a Superiority in the Profit of imported Bullion, that I doubt not in the least, it will reduce the above Balance

of 269,162 *l.* supposed to be in our Favour, to an Equality, if not turn it against us. And in such a Case, will it not be an unexampled Instance of Weakness, Folly, Rashness, and Iniquity, to expose the Fate of this Country to the Hazard of an even Balance in Commerce with *France*.

And now, my Lord and Sirs, I have mentioned *Africa* again, permit me to offer you a few Remarks, particularly with respect to the Restitution of *Goree*.

Our Ministers, perhaps, may think they do a mighty Thing, if, when they restore *Goree*, they keep the Possession of *Senegal*; for that, by the Means of it, we shall at least equally divide the Profits of the rich and necessary Trade to *Africa* with our Enemy. If they should think so, they will find themselves under an egregious Mistake. But if they could be right in such a Conjecture, it would certainly be the Height of Madness, after so much Blood and Treasure spent to reduce the exorbitant and tremendous Power of *France*, as I said just now, to expose the Fate of this Country to the Hazard of an even Balance of any one Trade with *France*; or even to do so in respect of the universal Trade of the two Nations, as I shall endeavour to shew in its proper Place. But with respect to our Possession of *Senegal* without *Goree*, I cannot conceive how it can enter into the Heads of our *wise* Men, that either we shall reap any more Advantage from the *African* Trade, by the Possession of the one without the other, or that the *French* Trade will be in the least diminished by this Concession; which, without *Goree*, will be rather a Prejudice than a Benefit to *Great Britain*.

The Necessity of either Nations embarking in a Commerce with *Africa*, principally ariseth from the Impossibility of cultivating their Settlements in *America*, especially the Sugar Islands, without Negroes; though the Gums, Elephants Teeth, and Gold Dust

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might otherwise render it a very beneficial one. If then one Nation's Demand for Negroes is greater than the others, that Nation whose Demand exceeds the others, will employ most Ships and Seamen, and export most Manufactures; and will thereby raise more Seamen and employ more Manufacturers, and proportionably encourage its Agriculture. Now *France* (as I have already said) vending fourteen Times as much Sugar, Indigo, &c. as *Great Britain*, is, in all these Advantages attending this Trade, fourteen Times more considerable than her; who, by the Possession of *Senegal*, can purchase no more Negroes than the Growth of her Settlements in *America* requires: And as she can have a sufficient Supply of them without *Senegal*, by the Conveniency of her own Ports and Settlements upon the Coast of *Africa*, which afford safe Harbours for her Ships and Store-houses for her Goods, she does not want *Senegal* to carry on her Negroe Trade; the *African* Ports and Settlements not being Markets for Negroes, who, as I apprehend, are bought upon the Coasts in coasting Voyages.

Next let us inquire of what Use *Senegal* without *Goree* is likely to be to *Great Britain*, with respect to the Traffic in Gums, Elephants Teeth, and Gold Dust; or in the Diminution of the *French* Negroe Trade. The Ships employed by the *British* Merchants, being only in Proportion to their Share in the *American* Interest, they will send but one in fifteen; and the Manufactures to purchase the Commodities above specified, being conveyed in the same Ships that convey those that purchase Negroes, there can be sent but one fifteenth Part of our Manufactures to barter away for Gums, Elephants Teeth, and Gold Dust: So then the *French* having fourteen Fifteenths of the Negro Trade, will send fourteen Times the Number of Ships that *Great Britain* can, and consequently

quently fourteen Times the Quantity of Manufactures to barter away for the same Commodities; and must therefore load for *France* fourteen times the Quantity of those valuable Effects, wherewith she must gain fourteen times as much as *Great Britain*.

France also hath another great Advantage over us herein:—she Manufactures her Goods so much cheaper than *Great Britain*, that she is able to out bid her 25 *per Cent*. And if these are Facts, how will it be possible for this Nation, to share equally these prodigious Advantages, with our Rival and Enemy?

Goree of itself is, doubtless, sufficient for the *Negro* Trade, and the foregoing Reasons secure them in a Manner, in the intire Possession of the other Branches of the *African* Commerce. Otherwise, we may be sure *French* Modesty would not have hindered the *French* Court demanding *Senegal* as well as *Goree*. And what Reason have we to believe the good Nature of our M——y would have denied any Demand, that it should have made? *Senegal* therefore without *Goree* will be an useless Expence to this Nation. And as *Goree* is sufficient to answer all the Purposes of that Trade to *France*, it is no wonder she should readily make us a Concession useless and expensive to its Possessor. Thus we see that *Senegal* without *Goree* cannot give us half the Trade of *Africa*, if our M——s did really intend their Country so much good. So here we see another *French* Gudgeon thrown out to catch the *British* Ministry.

Nothing surely can equal their Generosity and Charity, if there is Truth in the Preliminaries published. A Right of fishing in our *American* Seas for their home Consumption, and an Opportunity of enriching themselves and Augmenting their Maritime Power, by permitting them to erect Stages, &c. for curing Baccaloea for the Use of *Portugal*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, which will enable them to drive us out of the Fishery,

is much too mean a Present for the *French* King. — So trifling an Offering is much beneath the Dignity of *Louis Le Grand*. To render the M——l Present acceptable to him, it can be accompanied with nothing less, than those valuable Sugar Islands, whose whole Products cannot be worth less than upwards of 1,000,000*l.* Sterling *per Annum* in *France*, together with *Goree*. Which, if we reckon the value of the Negroes, with all the other Branches of that Commerce, may reasonably be estimated at 1,000,000*l.* more ; in all 2,000 000*l.* Sterling *per Annum*. All rich Jewels torn from the Crown of *France*, by that hard-hearted, cruel, vindictive, inexorable Robber Mr PITT, who bearing an Implacable Hatred to *Lewis* the XVth. for no better Reasons, than that *Lewis* the XVth. bore the same implacable Hatred to Mr. PITT's Country, and had first stolen and seized some of the Jewels out of his own Royal Master's Crown, and was bent upon taking away all the rest.

But to return to the Value of our Present, to his Most Christian Majesty. This 2,000,000*l.* being added to the Value of their home Consumption of Fish, caught in our Seas, will make the Donation worth about 2,600,000*l.* *per Annum*, besides an immediate and large Nursery for *French* Seamen, and an Opportunity of recovering what we retain of it by Treaty : which, we may be sure they will break as soon as they can ; because we know they have broke every Treaty they have made with us. Now can there be a more noble Instance either of Generosity or Charity, than to give up no less than 2,600,000*l.* *per Annum* for no Consideration ; and voluntarily, and without Power in him to whom we give it, to take it from us. Therefore as we are under no Compulsion, it can proceed from nothing but pure and perfect Generosity. O generous Souls ! All the World must own and admire it, tho' I believe, not any State whatever would follow

so good an Example.—Nor is our Charity less pure and perfect;—for it is an Exuberance, even of Christian Charity.—*That* only commands Forgiveness of our Enemy upon Repentance and Reparation, and to do good for Evil.—But it doth not bid us give him all we are worth, nor to put a Weapon into the Hands of him, we know to be an implacable Enemy, that would cut our Throats with it, as soon as he got Possession of it. Yet so excessively Charitable are we, that tho' we are certain, *France* will turn our Charity to our Destruction, we most charitably put ourselves into the Power of our implacable and most uncharitable Enemy.

How far doth the Charity of some *Britons* exceed that of the Merciful *Samaritan*, so highly applauded by the highest Authority! The *Samaritan's* Charity extended no further, than to a single *Jew*; between whose Nation and his own, though a perpetual Grudge subsisted, it does not appear, that *Samaria* had been unjustly invaded, pillaged, and most inhumanly treated by the *Jews*, in Breach of solemn Treaties. But if the Preliminaries are true, the far more than Christian Charity of our most merciful *Samaritans*, will be extended to Sixteen Millions of Strangers, our antient, inveterate, and irreconcilable Enemies, who have been justly punished for their Robberies and barbarous Murders committed upon us in Breach of solemn Treaties. The antient *Samaritan*, after he had poured Oil and Wine into the Wounds, of the unfortunate *Jew*, and lodged him in an Inn, gave the Host only Two-pence, promising to pay all other Charges for the Relief of the wounded Stranger; which it is likely might amount to Two pence or a Groat more. But our *Samaritans*, infinitely more merciful and generous, can give the wounded *French*, who got their Wounds in endeavouring to wound us, no less than about 2,600,000*l.*

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per Annum, sterling, immediately, together with the Means of acquiring the whole Trade of the World and becoming the sole maritime Power.

What can induce us to this impolitic Work of charitable Supererogation, I own I am at no small Loss to guess; unless it be, that our *wise* Men think that because we are to treat with the Most *Christian* King, therefore we are to rival him in Christian Appellation, and are resolved to merit *that* of the most Christian Dupes.

We have in *England* a Phrase, usually applied to Acts of extreme Folly, when it is improper to laugh out at them, that very properly expresseth the inward Contempt of a By-stander—we are apt to say, such a one “laughs in his Sleeve.” And if there is Truth in the published Preliminaries, surely *Niver-nis* cannot forbear laughing in *his* Sleeve at the amazing Conduct of our *renowned* Politicians.—Methinks I see the *sensible* and *honest* FRENCHMAN, in his *private* Apartment, TRIUMPHING over their Understandings.—Methinks I see him, with all the Vivacity natural to his Climate, in the highest Transports of Joy, clapping his Hands, and capering about his Room—and, methinks, I hear him bursting out in such Exclamations as these upon his Success: “O happy *France*, art thou then so unexpectedly delivered out of thy Conqueror’s Hands! O my fortunate Country, hath thy injured Enemy, flushed with repeated Victories over *thee*, reduced to the last Extremity, by the Courage of the *British* Arms by Sea and Land, spared *thee* after so many Conquests!—And do I see her trembling at thy haughty Threats, tamely submissive to thy Dictates, at the Instant—at the very Instant thou liest gasping and expiring under her Feet! O *France*, O my dear Country, thou art now safe, and shalt soon be great again! O my Prince, my royal Master, thou shalt soon arrive at the high
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Pinnacle of Glory, whither thy ambitious Predecessors in *vain* aspired ! The two Branches of the House of *Bourbon* are now united, we have now by Peace reduced *Old England*, that heretofore unsurmountable Obstacle to our mighty Object of universal Sway.—If she, by *our pretending* to relinquish the *Newfoundland* Fishery, all but our Home Consumption, *should* for a Time enjoy an equal Share of the Profits of the Trade to *America*, or even a small Balance in her Favour, that Advantage will be of a short Duration. Baccaloea cured on the Stages and Rooms erected on *Newfoundland*, will soon run away with her Profits, and restore to *France* her former Balance of Trade 1,430,838 *l.* and that great Nursery of Seamen. O brave ! O brave !—30,000 Seamen to be released to man a new formidable Fleet ! O brave again ! Our Marine will soon be strong enough to face the *British*.——But hold—let me think—ah—now I have it—we must be *good* Friends and Neighbours with *Great Britain* ; at least for some Time : For having bound her fast Hand and Foot by this Peace, in consequence whereof we shall, with the *united* Fleets of the *united* Branches of the House of *Bourbon*, soon dethrone the King of *Portugal* : And, by giving that Kingdom to the King of *Spain*, we shall get Possession of not only the whole Trade of *Old* and *New Spain*, but the *Brazils* too will be ours. Thus we shall import all the Bullion of those prodigious wide extended Regions into *France*.—Why—besides the vast Wealth accruing to *Great Britain* from their Commerce with *Spain*, we shall, by such a Blow given to the King of *Portugal*, at once strip that Land of Heretics of at least 1,000,000 *l.* Sterling *per Annum*, which will all come to *France*. By this too, while her naval Strength daily declines with her Manufactures, in Proportion as ours increase, the Poor of *Great Britain* must starve or fly to *France* for Bread.—Well—Bread they shall have

have—and Bread made of Corn the Growth of their *native* Soil.—But it shall be raised by *Frenchmen* ; large Colonies of whom we must transplant thither. So then they *shall* eat the *Bread* of *British* Corn :—But they shall earn it *dear*—very dear—they shall *hew* Wood and *draw* Water for us, and sweep our Streets and cleanse our Kennels. And these servile Offices for us Slaves, shall these *boasting* free-born *Britons* perform, hampered in *French* wooden Shoes—and loaded with ponderous Chains—and galled with corroding Fetters.—And by that Time we have reduced *Holland* to our Obedience, and added all her Spice Settlements in the *East Indies* to *Pondicherry*, the kind Concession of good natured unforeseeing *Britain*, and have engrossed all the Commerce of the *Dutch*, by which we shall be Masters of all the Wealth of the Universe, and of numerous and well-manned Squadrons, that will overspread the whole Ocean, *Great Britain* exhausted of her Riches, and drained of her Inhabitants, will, with the poor Remnant of her once dreadful and all-victorious Fleets, make but a *feeble* Resistance, to the superb naval Force of *France*.

“ It will then be Time to invade her, and take away her Name and her Place, and lead away Captive, with their Wives and little Ones, those who do not come to us of their own Accord.—The three richest commercial States, *Portugal*, *Holland*, and *Great Britain*, (the two last the greatest naval Powers) being thus totally subdued, the other States of *Europe* will soon be brought to submit and bear the Yoke. *Sardinia*, however wise and valiant her Sovereign may be, assaulted by the House of *Bourbon*, cannot long bear up against a Force so greatly superior.—In *Italy*, the King of *Spain* has a strong Hold through the Kingdom of *Naples*, which will help forwards the Reduction of *Italy* ; and the House of *Austria*, whom we have politically joined, in order to impoverish it by
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exhausting its Wealth in a rash War, can withstand the *French* and *Spanish* Powers but a little While. Nor will the military Abilities of the *Prussian* Hero, avail him against the same united Forces.

“ Thus, by the Subversion of these mighty States, my Master’s Power becoming invincible; the hardy *Swede*, without a Fleet, and not over-flushed with Wealth, will fall an easy Victim to the glorious Ambition of my Sovereign: And little *Denmark*, will scarce suffice him for a Breakfast.—But—I did not think of the paltry Principalities of *Germany*;—indeed they are scarce worth my Notice—but, however, these Baubles may do well enough to distribute amongst my Master’s Ladies—They may serve Madam *Pompadour* and the rest, in the Hours of Dalliance, for Sugar Plumbs and Carraways—*Pompadour*, may be made Dutcheß of *Munster*—another, Marchioness of *Mentz*—another, Countess of *Cologne*—another, Viscountess *Triers*—and---another---may be made—Baroness of *Hanover*: But enough of this. The infidel *Turk*, in no Condition to oppose our overgrown Strength, will soon acknowledge him for their Lord. And though the Intrepidity of the stout *Russians* may hold us a While in play, they too, like the Rest of the Powers of *Europe*, must fall under the Feet of *Louis*, and submit their Necks to the Iron Yoke of *France*.

“ Thus three Quarters of the World will soon be under the Dominion of *Louis le Grand*. *Asia* the Fourth, over-spread with a luxurious effeminate Race, undisciplined, and not much inured to War, will fall an easy Conquest to us valiant *FRENCHMEN*.—O rare *France*! O rare *France*!—What, *Louis le Grand*, sole Monarch of the whole World. O rare *France*!—Well—I do not despair of this, if I can with a Dash of a *British* Pen—put into my Hands by the S—nts of the *British* C—n, counter-sign these Preliminaries. Then will be laid a sure Foun-

dation of the universal Monarchy of *France*; and when the noble Structure is raised, then shall all the enslaved Inhabiters of the Earth, trembling, revere *le Grand Monarch*, and pay implicit Obedience to his dreadful Nod. O rare *France*!—And O thou my Pen, thou dear *British* Destroyer of *Britain's* Commerce, of *Britain's* naval Power, of *Britain's* Fame and Independency upon *France*—thou, blessed Restorer of the ruined Fortunes and lost Honour of my Royal Master, and my beloved Country, shalt inclosed in a Case of purest Gold, curiously chased and set with the brightest oriental Stones, descend, with my Titles and Estate, to my latest Posterity, as a Jewel of inestimable Price.—And thou precious Instrument of my immortal Glory, tell me if thou can'st, of *what* Materials the Heads of some Folks are formed? This, indeed I know full well, that—there is not---*one* Conjuror amongst them all. I am almost tempted to think, either that they sprung from Eggs, hatched under that Kind of Bird, on whose Pinion thou didst grow; or that their Dams, allured by some Male of the same Species, conceived them as *Leda* conceived, when she resigned her Charms to the Swan.

“ Well—next to the Love of God, the Love of our Country is, surely, the most *noble* and glorious of all the moral Duties and human Passions.—The meer Prospect of performing the least Service to our *native* Country, exhilarates the Heart of the honest Man, and yields him an Extacy of Joy that infinitely exceeds all the highest Pleasures of Luxury, Avarice, Vanity, or false Ambition——But to reach out to her (like *Pitt*, in whose Head and Heart reside all the Abilities and Virtues of the *Grecian*, *Roman*, and *British* Patriots) a friendly and saving Hand, when she stands trembling and pale upon the Verge of Annihilation, is a Joy that transports and ravishes my Heart to a Degree beyond the Reach of Expression,

Expression, and *surely* can be *no faint* Anticipation of that Portion of eternal Bliss assigned for the Reward of uncorrupt Patriots; who, doubtless, in those Regions of unfading Glory, shall sit for ever high enthroned, next to the holy Apostles and the glorious Army of Martyrs.—O that my Dagger could give a mortal Wound to *Britannia's* Heart! then would my glad Soul willingly soar to those happy Seats, whereto no *Enemy* to his Country can ever arrive.—If then the faithful serving ones Country, affords the most exquisite Delight, and is attended with so much Lustre of Character upon Earth, and is distinguished with infinite Felicity and Glory in Heaven—what a Reverse of Anxiety, what Infamy of Character, and Portion of the sharpest Pangs of Damnation, must await the Wretch that shall betray his Country, or servilely flatter the peccant Humours of his Prince!—rather than stain his Name *with* such *foul* Deeds, let *Nivernois* perish by ten Thousand Tortures.—By *St. Peter*, and all the Apostles—by every Saint above—by my Crucifix—by all the holy Relicts in the *Vatican*, and by his Holiness himself, Heaven's awful and infallible Vicegerent on Earth—I swear—if I thought my Tongue ever capable of assenting to, or my Hand of signing one single Article the least prejudicial, or dishonourable to *Frauce*—the *one*, I would pluck out by the Roots—and the *other*, behold with the Firmness of *Mutius Scævola*—wither in a Flame.”

Here, my Lord and Sirs, we will leave honest *Nivernois* to his Soliloquy—with which I should not have troubled you, if it was not my real Opinion that they suggest too many melancholy Truths not impossible to come to pass.

But to return, you will please to observe, that the preceding Computations, so far as they respect the Importation of Bullion into *Great Britain* and *France*, are built upon a Supposition that all the Products arising from the several Branches heretofore-men-

tioned are sold by both Nations for foreign Coin or Bullion. Which is not really the Case of either; tho' *France* must, I think, have greatly the Advantage in this Respect, because she has, within herself, so many more of those Commodities useful and necessary for Manufactures, and to supply Luxury, without importing them from foreign Countries than *Great Britain*, who, therefore, is obliged to import the former; and her Folly drives her to do the same with Respect to the latter. Even upon this Supposition *France* had before the War a monstrous Ballance in her Favour, and upon the same Supposition upon the Peace, of our Returns being made in Bullion for all our Rice and Tobacco exported, only deducting 100,000*l.* for the Quantity sent to *France*, by giving them right to fish for their home Consumption we see no more than a Ballance of 269,162*l.* in our Favour, upon a vain Presumption, that we shall remain in Possession of the *Portugal*, *Spanish* and *Italian* Markets for Baccaloea; which it is very evident (as hath been before observed) the *French* do not mean we shall do, by their desiring Stages useful for that Sort of Fish, which is only vendable in those Markets; so that when they once regain that Branch of the Fishery, they will be upon the same footing, with Respect to the Ballance of the *American* Trade, they were before the War: but if not, their Superiority of the *African* would still turn the Ballance in their favour. And can any Man think it expedient, to make a Peace with *France*, with a Ballance of Trade in her Favour in any Degree or Shape whatever?

But if we consider the universal Trade, carried on by both Nations before the War, we shall, I fear, have too much Reason to believe the Ballance of Trade, to have been greatly in Favour of *France*. And if so, we ought never to rest, till we have driven her quite out of *America*; for by that only, we can effectually secure the Ballance of Trade in our Favour, and keep down her naval Power. And if we neglect
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to do so, now Providence hath put it in our Power, we must be the first Victim, to the boundless Ambition of the common Enemy of Mankind:—And the Corner-stone of her universal Monarchy.

To form such a State of the Balance of Trade between the two Nations, as will come nearest to the Truth, is not to be done by any one Man, especially by me, who am so far removed from the trading Parts of this Island. I can only offer my Reasons, why I think the Ballance of Trade in general was before the War, in Favour of *France*. Whether it was so or not, ought to be, with Regard to making Peace or carrying on the War against her, the first Consideration with our Administration: Since upon their Resolves, the Fate of this Country depends. And therefore I earnestly wish, that the most considerable Merchants of the City of *London*, would agree to meet and draw out a State of the Trade of both *Great Britain* and *France*, and Strike a Ballance, as correct as the Nature of the thing will permit, for the Information of the Administration and the Parliament; that this Poor Island may not be totally lost for Want of it. That this good and necessary Work may be as correct as possible, I hope all the Merchants of the Out Ports, will lend a helping Hand to it, either by their Attendance in *London* or by Correspondence. In the meanwhile I shall take the Liberty, agreeable to what I lately proposed, to offer such Reasons as occur to me upon this Head.

First then, tho' I have supposed hitherto, that our Return for all our Products of *America* are made in Bullion, it is not really so. But my Intention in stating the foregoing Accounts upon this Supposition was to heighten, as much as possible the Profits of this Country's Trade; that after all that can be said, to set it in the most favourable Light to *Britain*, she will still appear to be upon such a Footing with *France*, in the Point of Importation of Bullion and the *American*

rican Commerce, that the making a Peace upon the Preliminaries published, must bring the Trade and naval Power of this Nation and its Independency upon *France*, into so precarious and dangerous a Situation, as cannot be justified by any one Principle of Policy or Honesty.

The foregoing State of Bullion imported into the two Nations, is now to be laid aside in forming a Judgment, whether upon the general Trade carried on by both, the Ballance lies on the side of *Great-Britain* or *France*. All besides, that hath been said upon the Products of the Sugar Plantations, *North America* and of the *Newfoundland* Fishery, and *Africa*, are to be remembered upon this Head, being of equal Force in the present and last Argument; with this Difference only, that whereas we valued the Sugars and Tobacco at what they sold for in foreign Markets, upon the Exportation, we shall now only estimate them at prime Cost in the Mother Countries.

I pass over the home Consumption of both Nations as only serving chiefly to employ their own People.

First, we will consider the Products of *America* and *Africa*.

Great Britain imported before the War, from her northern Colonies, for Exportation to foreign Markets, Tobacco, Hogsheads 45,000, at 15*l.* per } £.

Hhd in *Great Britain*, about — } 675,000

Rice 50,000 Barrels, Ditto, about — } 80,000

Fishery, Train Oil, and Whale-bone — } 300,000

From her Sugar Plantations, Hogsheads } 65,137

Value Ditto 12*l.* 10*s.* — — }

Other Products from Ditto one-fifth Value of Sugars, about — — } 13,025

1,133,162

France

<i>France.</i>		<i>£.</i>
From the Fishery Train Oil and Whale-bone	1,350,000	
<i>Sugar Plantations.</i>		
74,787 Hhds, at 12 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per Hhd at Home	934,863	
Other Products about	186,972	
	<hr/>	
	2,471,835	
	1,133,162	
	<hr/>	
Ballance in Favour of France	1,338,673	

From *America* then what a great Advantage *France* had over *Great Britain*, in rich Commodities for Exportation to foreign Markets in *Europe*, appears from this short State of the Quantities and Value of imported Products, viz. no less than a Superiority of 1,338,673 *l.* per Annum Sterling, prime Cost: and this, exclusive of the Superiority, she had over *Aby* the Importation of Gums and Elephants Teeth from *Africa*. In this Place I take no Notice of her Importation of Gold Dust imported from thence; nor of the Silver imported by her from *New Spain*, in Return for Negroes, &c. We shall make a Remark on these hereafter.—But with respect to Gums and Elephants Teeth, let it be remembered, fourteen Times as much more as *Great Britain* can import, was imported by *France* before the War. All these Products brought from *America* and *Africa* ought to be esteemed as the Products of *France*, in as much as they are from her own Colonies and Settlements, and are raised by *French* Hands, or bought with *French* Manufactures; and all carried in *French* Bottoms, navigated by *French* Seamen.

Now Commerce in general may be thus defined:—It is an Exportation of the Staples, and Manufactures, and Products of one Country to other Countries, to be there bartered away either for their Money,—or for such of their Manufactures, Materials, and Products

ducts as either are necessary in working up her own Manufactures, or are for her Subsistence or Convenience.

This then being granted, it will necessarily follow, that the Greatness or Smallness of any Nation's Trade will depend upon the Number of her Staples, Manufactures, Materials, and Products within itself; and that the Nation, that hath most of these within herself, will enjoy the greatest Share of Trade; not only by the employing a greater Number of Hands, but by an Importation of more Bullion: For as she will sell the Surplus of her own Consumption of her Staples, Manufactures, Materials, and Products to Foreigners that want them, she will have more Returns in Bullion than other Nations, that not having the same Advantages, or at least in the same Degree within themselves, are obliged to import them from their Neighbours, whilst she, also wanting fewer, Things from her Neighbours, has less Occasion to send out her Money.

Therefore when two Nations rival each other in Trade, though it may be very difficult to discover the exact Sum or Amount of the Ballance in Favour of the Nation where it lies, it will be very easy to find on which Side the Ballance really is; for that, that has within itself most of the Advantages just now enumerated, will have greater Exportations of Goods and Products, and greater Importations of Bullion, and fewer Occasions of exporting it again.

The great Rivalship of Trade before the War, lay between *Great Britain* and *France*. That Rivalship the Successes of the War has determined; if it is not revived by a Peace with our Rival; especially by one agreeable to the strange Preliminaries published, which, to the national Astonishment, have never been contradicted. But the Contest will be of no long Duration; for our Rival will soon engross the whole Trade, that was lately carried on between the two Nations; if ever the ill-judged Charity of our most charitable and merciful *Samaritans*, shall restore our
rival

rival Enemy to that greatly superior and formidable Strength, from which that most uncharitable and unmerciful Man, Mr. *Pitt*, reduced her, upon the strange and unfashionable Notion of preferring the Interest of his King and Country, either to that of *France* or of himself.

But whether the Ballance lay in Favour of *Great Britain* or *France* before the War, will appear by an Enquiry into the Manufactures, Materials, and Products of each Nation within itself.

We have already seen, that *France*, by almost the sole Possession of the Sugar and Fish Commerce, has at least 2,471,835 *l.* *Great Britain*, by a few Sugars and Fish, and all the Tobacco Commerce, only 1,133,162 *l.* so that *France* hath in Products for supplying the foreign Markets a greater Stock than *Great Britain*, to the Value of 1,338,673 *l.* and as to Gums and Elephants Teeth, she has fourteen Times more than *Great Britain*. *France* and *Great Britain* hath both Silk Manufactures, but *France* produces all her raw Silk for that Manufacture. We buy, for the same Use, all ours of *Piedmont*, for which we pay 100,000 *l.* per Annum ; and of *Turkey*, which lets us have it for our Manufactures. *France* produces Wine, Brandy, and Olives ; great Quantities of which she exports. We have none. If we have Corn sufficient for ourselves and Exportation, she, by converting many of her Vineyards to Arable, has the same ; and though the Growth is not so good as ours, by underselling us at *Lisbon* and other Markets, 25 or 30 per Cent. she has a Share of that Exportation, as I have been well informed by the late Mr. *Burrel*, a very considerable Merchant, and an honest Gentleman, who had an old established House at *Lisbon*. *France* has a considerable Manufacture in Hats. We have the same, we had it from her.—Coals we have : She has none, but can have them from us cheap enough to manufacture her Iron so reasonable, that, by the

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greater

greater Cheapness of her Labour, she is able to export her manufactured Iron at a much lower Price than we can. *France* has an Exportation for printed, Table, and wearing Linens.—We have in *Scotland* and *Ireland* the same; but yet it is, I believe, scarce sufficient for our own Consumption; and, I fear, we shall hardly be able to get the foreign Market out of the Hands of *France*, *Holland*, and *Hamburgh*. *France* may want naval Stores from her Neighbours, as well as *Great Britain*, and, I fear, she will soon have a larger Want of them. These are purchased with Money by both. The Woollen Trade she has almost got from us: She almost intirely supplies *Turkey* with Woollen Goods; and if we did not take off their Wines, and Oil, and Fruits, she would worm us out of the *Portugal* and *Spanish* Consumption of our Woollen Goods. I fear she interferences not a little with us in the latter, and will probably much more, now the Houses of *Bourbon* are united. *France* certainly uses much of our Wool in her Manufactures: But for it, she gives us nothing but her Wines, her Brandies many of her Silks, and, I am sorry to say, some of her Woollen Goods; by which she gets more in foreign Markets, than the Cost of the Wool: For when I had the Honour to sit in Parliament, I have seen Courtiers in that Assembly, in *French* Cloth trimmed with *French* Lace: even the Man, that was afterwards called by that unconstitutional Name of first Minister. So great an Aversion did some seem to have to their native Country, that they could not bear to encourage her Manufactures.

It would be endless to mention every Particular of the internal Advantage, *France* has over us. I hope to see all of them set forth, by our most worthy and respectable Body of Merchants, in the great and necessary Work I have, in these sheets, taken the Liberty to recommend to them; and which I do now again, for the Sake of themselves, their Country, and latest

latest Posterity. For if the Preliminaries published are true, and a Peace is to be concluded agreeable to them, this Nation, I do verily believe, much within the Space of a Century, will neither be a trading Nation, nor an independant one upon *France*.

Let it suffice then for the present, that *France* having almost every Thing within herself, wants little or nothing from other Countries, and therefore taking little or nothing from them, must have her Returns mostly in Bullion; and more especially as her Exports are greatly to *Spain*, and the *Spanish West Indies*, and *Italy*. Besides that she imports an immense Quantity of Bullion in Gold Dust, for Returns for Goods sent to *Africa*, and in Silver for Negroes sold to *New Spain*, which Negroes are purchased with *French* Manufactures. Whereas *Great Britain* wanting many Things for necessary Uses, particularly in her Shipping and Manufactures, even Gums, which she purchases of *France*, as I have been told, and making fewer Manufactures and consequently vending fewer;--besides paying vast Interest for 30,000,000*l.* of Debt to Foreigners, and immense Sums to *France* for Wines and other Things, together with what is spent there by *British* Fools that go thither to collect and import *French* Follies, our Imports of Bullion must be very small in Comparison with those of *France*. So that, if we do not intirely destroy her Trade in *America* and *Africa*, before we allow her Peace, she must become much the greater commercial and naval Power, which must end in the utter Ruin of *Great Britain*.

My Lord and Sirs, I have detained you a long while, from the Consideration of the important Part of the published Preliminaries that respects the Restitution of *Guadaloupe* singly, or that of all the conquered Sugar Islands.

It was first reported, that we were to restore *Guadaloupe*, together with *Goree*. But soon afterwards.

by the Preliminaries divulged in the *Evening Post* before mentioned, we are informed, not only *Guadeloupe*, but *Marigalante*, *St Lucia*, and *Martinico* were to be restored too; which last is of the utmost Consequence to *France*, as it has a most noble Harbour for Privateers to lye ready, to pop out and take all our trading Ships in Time of War, and which must be of equal Consequence to *Great Britain*, as the Possession of it is both a Protection to her *West India* Trade, and gives her the like Opportunity of distressing that of the *French*; if the driving *France* quite out of *America*, should be so absolutely incompatible with the exuberant Charity of our most charitable and merciful *Samaritans*, that they are determined not to do, what is absolutely necessary, for the Security of the Trade and *national* Existence of their *native* Country.

If we recollect what has been said in the preceding Pages, relating to the Consumption of Sugars, Indigo, &c. in the foreign Markets, and the Reasons that have thrown that profitable Trade, into the Hands of *France*, we cannot but clearly see, that (as I early observed) the Difference of restoring *Guadaloupe* only, or all the conquered Islands, is no more than this: If we give up that, it will be a few Years only, before *France* will be able to raise the Quantity of the 80,000 Hogsheads of Sugar and other Products taken off by the foreign Markets. If we give them up all the rest, that are mentioned, they will immediately engross that whole Commerce, to the very great *Damage* of this Nation. So that the Restitution of *Guadaloupe* alone, will only protract, not prevent the Ruin of the Sugar Commerce with Regard to this Country.

To illustrate this Truth, it will be proper to observe, that a great Number of Islands are not so necessary for this Purpose, as the Extent and Fertility of one, especially if the different Parts of one Island will produce the several different Sorts of Sugar required in the Markets. If it will not, then as many
other

other Islands would be requisite as would produce the several Sorts. Otherwise the fewer Islands any Nation hath, the better ; if the hindering others from taking Possession of the vacant, in order to keep them out of that Trade, was not an unanswerable Argument for keeping all. Because, the national Charge of fortifying and garrisoning many must be immensely greater, than of one or two. Especially, as the doing this to each must be full sufficient for the Defence of each ; and whatever Charge would attend any single Island, the same would attend every one, unless where the Natural Strength of any should contribute in some Degree to lessen it. Moreover, a single Island would be impregnable, from the internal Strength it would acquire, from the several Inhabitants dispersed over many, being collected into one aggregated Body.

If this be true, and supposing *Guadeloupe* to have Soils adapted to the several Species of Sugars required by the Markets, *Guadeloupe* is, itself, sufficient to raise enough, both to answer the foreign Demand and the home Consumption of *France*. It is said, that not one tenth Part of it is cultivated, and what is, produces annually 40,000 *French* Hogsheads of Sugar, which may be about 24,000 of *English* : So that, if this Island was thoroughly improved, it would produce 248,000 *English* Hogsheads : which is 160,000 more than the foreign Demand, besides Indigo &c. insomuch that *France* would have yearly, after supplying the foreign Demand and her home Consumption, a great Surplus upon her Hands. Moreover, the *French* Planters of the other Islands, were these to be left in our Possession, flocking to *Guadeloupe*, would in a few Years improve it enough, to answer all the Purposes of the Mother Country ; and render it too strong to be retaken by us, in a future War. But if the Soil of this Island should be only adapted to one Species of Sugar, why should *France* be complimented with the Benefit of supplying *Europe* and herself

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with that Species, which will amount to a prodigious Sum?

What I have said upon this Island is in all Respects applicable to *Hispaniola*.

But I own, it is not likely, that one Island should produce all the different Sorts of Sugars required. The *French* undoubtedly think so too. And therefore probably, they insist upon the Restitution of all. And if all is restored to them, they will be restored to the Enjoyment of the whole Sugar Trade, and in Consequence of it, of the *African* Trade likewise. Their Demand is certainly completely impudent. But who would not ask unreasonably, where he believes nothing that can be asked will be denied? O, with what Charitable, Compassionate and merciful *Samaritans*, doth *Great Britain* abound? and certainly blessed are the Peace Makers.

The *Havannah* is, as we are by the publick News Papers informed, to be restored to the *Spaniards* if it shall be taken.

Since it hath pleased God to bless the National Arms with Success against the *Havannah*, it will puzzle all the World, to find out a National Reason for restoring to the *Spaniard* after his unjust Declaration of War against us, attended with the most unwarrantable Circumstance of Insincerity and Treachery, the back Door to all his rich Possessions in *America*: especially after so much *British* Blood and Treasure Spent, as the taking that important Place hath cost us. But whoever reflects (I mean if the published and uncontradicted Preliminaries are true) on the exuberant and more than Christian Charity, Compassion and Mercy of our most charitable, compassionate and merciful *Samaritans* towards the *French*; he will soon divest himself of all Surprise, since he cannot but think, the *Spaniard* to the full as deserving as *France* of this *Samaritan* Tendernefs.

But happy, thrice happy are our *Samaritans*; not only

only in a second Opportunity of exercising their charitable Dispositions ; but also in that, which the Surrender of the *Havannah* hath furnished them, of demonstrating to the World, that as they far surpass the highly applauded Pattern of Charity in the Gospel, so they no less surpass in the *Glory* of *Heroism*, the earliest Warriors of Antiquity ; who invaded their inoffensive Neighbours and spilt *their* Blood, and that of *their own* Subjects, with no other view, than of acquiring the Glory of Conquering : and, contented with Victory, restored their Conquests to the Invaded. But what transcending heroic Glory do the published Preliminaries promise, to our more than Christian Heroes and *Samaritans*, by informing us, that they are to restore to both our transgressing and injurious Enemies, whatever we have taken from them in Consequence of our necessary Defence ?

My Lord and Sirs, I will now lay before you in one View, a Sketch of the Value of the Present, said to be intended, by our generous Conceders to be made to *France* only.

We are then humbly to crave of our defeated, routed, ruined, and first-aggressing Enemy, their favourable Acceptance of all their late Sugar Islands ; the Products of which, when sold in foreign Markets, are worth to her upwards of 1,400,000*l.* Sterling *per Annum*, over and above her own Consumption, that cannot be estimated at less than 200,000*l.* which she must buy of us, when we take *Hippancle* : in all 1,600,000*l.* And also the Right of Fishing for her home Consumption, which cannot be reckoned at so little as 500,000*l. per Annum* ; all together 2,100,000*l.* with one Third at least, of the best Nursery for Seamen in the World ; which they declare they will have to themselves, by desiring Stages and drying rooms to cure a Commodity, unfit for her own Consumption, and only fit for the Markets she pretends to cede to us. Besides this 2,100,000*l. per An.* we give her *Gene*, that yields up to her almost the whole *African Trade* : And *Pondicherry*,

dieberry, and two other Settlements in the *East Indies*, which, all together, cannot be much less than 1,000,000*l.* So that I dare say, according to the reported Preliminaries, we are to buy at the Price of near 3,000,000*l.* Sterling *per Annum*, a shameful and dishonourable Peace of vanquished *France*; in no Condition to take a single Foot of Land from us, but by Stealth, and through the Negligence of those, whose Office and Duty it is to prevent her : As in the Case of her late Descent upon *Newfoundland*, for which, *some Body* deserves to be severely punished.

These are not all the Disadvantages of the promulged Preliminaries; for if, by Means of the Privilege of erecting Stages and drying Rooms on the Islands of *Newfoundland* and *Cape Sable*, the *French* should recover of the Fish Trade, what they pretend to give up, they will gain near 800,000*l.* more; which may fairly be added to the above Sum, as they will certainly regain it. Besides, as the last-mentioned Island is situated in the Center of the *New England* Fishery, (for it is well known the *New Englandmen* catch most of their Baccala on *Sable Bank*) and very near the Track of the Ships bound to *Boston* and the other Ports of *New England*, *France* will doubtless make Forts and Settlements on the last-mentioned Island for the Security of her Ships of Force, with which she will most certainly, at some future Time, endeavour to ruin the *New England* Fishery, and intercept her Trade : To prevent which, to protect our *Newfoundland* Fishery, and to watch their Ships in their Voyage back to *Europe*, we must be at the constant Expence of keeping a large Squadron of Men of War in those Seas.

We can never be secure from an Intercourse between our future *M—*—rs and those of *H—*—r ; who, if the former are to be corrupted, will scarce let them want a Temptation, to betray their Country. His Majesty hath indeed been pleased most graciously to assure us from the Throne, that his “ Heart is in-

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irely *British*", and it is surely utterly impossible, that his Majesty's religious and pious Disposition, will suffer him to deviate the least Jota from Sincerity and Truth. What a Thunder-bolt is this to fall in *H——r*! which hath, for near half a Century, been reaping the Fruits of *British* Industry and Toil, draining us of our Treasure, and spilling our Blood to aggrandize herself—and thereby giving the *French* favourable Opportunities of stealing our Trade, and raising terrible Fleets, that would have inevitably destroyed this Country, if *Gallic* Alertness, and Impatience to extinguish our Name and Nation, could have waited twenty Years longer, till the farther Reduction of our Commerce had rendered our naval Force too impotent to have prevented our intire Ruin! Therefore, though his "Majesty's Heart is intirely *British*," we cannot imagine, that those of the *H——r-M——rs* can be so—they are Natives of *H——r*, not of *Britain*. Happy would it be for us, if we could at any Time say, that the Hearts of our *M——rs* are like his Majesty's. But as this Blessing, if we may judge from past Experience, is not to be expected; we may reasonably apprehend, that the *M——rs* of the Electorate will not sparingly scatter our *own* Specie amongst those of *Great Britain*, in order to secure that System of continental Politics, the Advantages of which they only have reaped. I say our *own* Specie, for I believe three Score Years ago, they had none of their own. And if the *French* should have swept their Coffers clean, and reduced them to their original Indigence,—rather than not keep their old Pocket-Pistol in Repair, ready to point at our Breasts if we should presume to object to their stealing our Baccaloea, or to any other Breach of so fine a Treaty, they doubtless will begrudge no necessary Expence.

So then, according to the uncontradicted Preliminaries published, we are to pay *France* down in Hand

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3.000,000!

3,000,000*l.* Sterling *per Annum* for a Peace, with the Means of acquiring near a 1,000,000*l.* more in the Fishery ; which will put her in Possession again of the same greater Share of that prodigious Nursery of Seamen, and divesting us of the whole in Time ;—and likewise the Means of depriving us of the *Portugal* Trade, which has ever been estimated at 1,000,000*l.* Sterling *per Annum*.—For whenever an Intercourse is settled between the *British* and Electoral M——ries, if *France* with *Spain* should attack *Portugal*, we, however obliged by Treaty or Interest, must not dare to assist her (if able) for Fear—of exposing H——r to the Resentment of *France*.—O may the heaviest Vengeance in the Stores of Heaven, pursue them who shall contribute but a single Mite to the Destruction of my Country ! O *Britain*, what will four or five Millions gain upon thy Commerce avail thee, if thy M——rs should ever spend six Millions annually in *Germany*, upon a *German* System ? Will not the World view thee in the same ridiculous Light it doth the unwary Prodigal, that suffers himself to become the Bubble of some common Sharper, who, not worth a Groat, preys upon the giddy Fool of Fortune ?

But one C——t Advocate will tell you, that *Great Britain* must preserve the Ballance of Power in *Europe*.—What, can she preserve that Ballance by running out her whole Estate, beggaring herself, and becoming a Bankrupt ? Can a Spend-thrift, Beggar, and Bankrupt, be a Mediator in private Disputes, and a Composer of Quarrels in private Families ? No more can a beggared and bankrupt Nation be a Mediator between jarring States, and Composer of Differences, or hold the Ballance of Power.

Another will tell you, that we are bound in Gratitude to preserve the King's *German* Dominions ; for that they are endangered by our *American* Quarrel with *France*. I own I do not easily conceive, how one State can draw upon itself the Resentment of another

another at War, unless she becomes a Party in the War, or assists in some Shape the Power with which it is at War. In both these Cases the Electorate is certainly innocent, with Regard to *Britain*. Her Situation and her Interest is confined to the Continent. —Our Situation is in the Ocean, and our Interest is in a Commerce extended over the whole World; wherein she can have no Right nor any Share, unless her Advocates will own that she sucks most of the Fruits of our Merchant's Labours. And as to any Assistance she has given us—I never heard that we owe her any Thanks upon that Account. Indeed she once sent us some Troops, (who had the Insolence to refuse Obedience to our Laws) when we had no Manner of Need of them; by which she affronted the Nation, as it implied a strong and groundless Suspicion of our Loyalty and Courage: And for the *no* Service of them we paid her a very large Sum of Money, which might have been much better employed, and which I heartily wish we had kept amongst ourselves; though we have paid immense Sums to the *Hessians*, and other petty States, to cover the Electorate in those Dangers to which the Ambition of her M——rs exposed her.

Her aspiring Views, some People have been free enough to think, have at several Times been the Occasion of the Variety of those contradictory Treaties, that have been attended with unsupportable Expences to this Country; and have manifested such an incurable Love in *certain* Persons, that discovered a fatal Secret to *France*; which was; that her threatening the Electorate, would strike such a Terror into some Natives of this Island, as would induce them to permit her to play what Pranks she pleased in *America* or elsewhere. If this be so—then it seems pretty clear, that all the Dangers which either the Electorate or *Great Britain* has lately known, are to be laid to the Door of that *German* Province only; that *A-*

American Quarrel is the Consequence of her aspiring Views; and that her Misfortunes are not the Consequences of our *American Quarrel*. And, as nothing can, I think, be more evident than this, so nothing can more forcibly prove, the absolute Expediency of a national Application to Parliament, to take into Consideration the proper Methods, of obtaining a total Separation of that Electorate from *Great Britain*; to recal the *British* Troops from *Germany*, put a final Stop to continental Measures, and to turn our whole Strength against *France* and *Spain* in *America* and upon the Sea; and not to sheath the Sword before *France* is driven intirely out of it.

My Lord and Sirs, having laid before you the several Preliminaries, communicated to the Public by the News Papers, with the fatal Consequences to this Country, (should they be carried into Execution,)—together with such Observations upon them, as have occurred to me; it may not be amiss to ask, a few Questions, to which, I believe the Nation is curious enough to desire distinct Answers;

Whether any Nation can have a Right to invade another, or any of its Colonies and Possessions, and to butcher the People without Mercy, either by themselves or by inhuman Savages?

If any Nation is so unjustly invaded and injured, has she not a Right, by the Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, and the Law of God, to defend herself against such an Enemy and make Reprisals, to keep what she takes in War to indemnify herself for all the Charges of a War entered upon in her just Defence, and to distress the Aggressor so far as is necessary for her own future Security and Peace?

Hath not *France*, without the least Provocation from us, invaded and plundered our Colonies and Possessions in *America*, in Breach of Treaties, and inhumanly butchered our Fellow-Subjects, both by themselves and *Indian Savages*?

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Hath not *Great Britain* the same Right in common with all Nations to defend herself against such Injuries done her by *France*, and to retain what she has taken from her in the present just and necessary War, in order to indemnify herself for the Charges of it, and establish her future Security and Peace?

Can *Great Britain* restore any of her Conquests in *America* or *Africa* to *France*, without restoring to her the Power of endangering her Security and Peace, but also of putting a total Period to her national Existence?

Hath not *France* been a most notorious Treaty Breaker, and hath she not broke every Treaty she ever made with this Nation?

Can *Great Britain*, consistent with her own Security and Peace, or any Rule of Policy, trust that notorious Treaty breaking and perfidious Nation?

Is any one Concession made by *France*, in the Preliminaries published, that can possibly indemnify *Great Britain* for the immense Charges she has been at in defending her just Rights and protecting her Subjects from *French* Violences, and herself from *French* Slavery; and why is so material and necessary an Article omitted in the Preliminaries?

Can our more than Christian *Samaritans* and most illustrious Heroes, since the Days of the first Warriors, whose Examples they seem so closely to imitate, produce a single Instance from History of any Nation, that, after being in a less Degree than we have been, unjustly invaded and injuriously treated, restored their Conquests to the offending Party, if she herself was in a Condition to maintain them; especially when such a Restitution would have enabled her Enemy to have completed her Ruin; and are not we in a Condition to maintain our Conquests over *France*, and to secure ourselves for the future against the fatal Effects of her boundless Ambition; and must we not expect all the Calamities of a conquered People, if we again

again trust her with those Weapons which will empower her to work our Destruction, and which we are sure she will employ to that purpose ?

What National Reason can be given for making Concessions to conquered *France* that so evidently tend to her Exaltation and the Perdition of *Great Britain* ?

Is it possible for any *Briton* in the South or North of this Island, to approve of Conditions so shameful, dishonourable, injurious, and fatal to his Native Country ?

If any such there should unhappily be, will he not justly deserve that severe Justice which is due to the highest Crimes it is possible to commit ; and if a punishment adequate to the Offence is unknown to our Laws, will not a Law *ex post facto* be necessary and warrantable, in order to prevent such dangerous Evils for the future, by striking a proper Terror into the Hearts of all future M——rs ?

My Lord and Sirs, we have seen what generous and astonishing Concessions, the Public Papers have made to *France*, and what niggardly and disadvantageous ones that artful and treacherous Court, hath made to us. The former I have largely treated, but I cannot dismiss you, without a Word or two upon the latter.

Surely then *France*, how deficient soever we take her to be, in the Point of Modesty, could never have the Impudence, to make such insolent Demands from us ; and offer on her Part such mean Concessions to our C—t. Therefore, if such Preliminaries are in Agitation, they must be the spontaneous Offers of our modern *Samaritans* and Heroes ; who disdain to be out-done in Charity or Glory by those of Antiquity.

For all the rich and fertile Sugar Plantations, worth 1,400,000 sterling *per Annum*, conquered, ruined *France* is graciously pleased to relinquish to *Great Britain*, *Tobago* and the rest of the neutral Islands, which would cost her incredible Sums to settle ; and which,

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if settled, would be of no Use to her, since *France*, by underselling her, would enjoy the foreign Markets.

For *Goree*, which, for the Reasons already assigned, will not only put *France* in Possession, in a Manner, of the whole Trade of *Africa*, and that of *New Spain*, but also of a Situation, from whence she may dislodge us: She humbly condescends to permit *Great Britain* to retain *Senegal*, that, without *Goree*, will be useless to her.

For an immediate Right to at least One-third of the *Newfoundland* Fishery, under the Pretence of supplying her Home Consumption, which is worth between 5 and 600,000*l.* Sterling *per Annum*, and for the Liberty of erecting Stages, in order to engross the whole Fish Trade, besides the much more useful Privilege of nursing up immediately 16,400 Seamen—and the Opportunity of raising in Time 30,096 Seamen, the Number she had before the last War. For these Advantages, I say, *France* is willing to give up *Canada* and *Louisiana*; neither of which she can keep, if we otherwise please; and which is thinly peopled and scarce cultivated, and to and from whence six or ten Ships, at most, are employed. A mighty Concession this indeed! and such as a wise and honest M—ry would have rejected with the utmost Disdain.

If all the *Quid-Nuncs* of the Earth can produce an Instance of any Nation that, after receiving such audacious Affronts and Injuries as we have received from *France*, and after having so gallantly defended herself and reduced the Transgressor to the lowest Condition, next to Extirpation, put herself, when a glorious Conqueror, into the State of the conquered, and submitted to such Terms of Peace as those exhibited, I will readily submit to undergo all the Punishments due to those, who are bold enough to sacrifice their Country in the most shameful and disgraceful Manner.

God be praised we are at this Day a conquering Nation.—The national Armaments commanded by
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the valiant Earl of *Albemarle* by Land, and the valiant Admiral *Pocock* by Sea, have given so effectual a Stab to the Pride of the deceitful *Spaniard*, by the Reduction of the *Havannah*, and the Capture of so many *Spanish* Men of War, that it clearly demonstrates the Facility of the last Blow, necessary to be given to the united Houses of *Bourbon*, by the Reduction of the Island of *Hispaniola*.

When this glorious Stroke is struck, we shall be in Possession of the whole Sugar Trade, and of the fore and back Doors of all *Spanish America*; which will be such a Curb to the King of *Spain*, as will render his Alliance with the *French* King of so little Service to him, that it will of Course dissolve that Union between them, which was lately alarming to us, and dangerous to all *Europe*.

Then it will be Time, and not before, to sheath the Sword drawn against the *Spanish* Monarch, and to make Peace with *Spain*. But the Time can never come, when it will be proper to sheath it against *France*, who will be strong enough still to disturb her Neighbours, who, in Point of Commerce, will be no stronger than herself; and whom it will always be our Interest and Glory to protect with our Fleets, against her Injustice, Pride, and Insolence: Over her false and iniquitous Head, the protecting and avenging Sword of Justice should ever hang unsheathed.—And what Native soever of *Great Britain* shall take it down, and lay it by to rust in its Scabbard, at least before the perfidious *French* are reduced to a total Incapacity of doing Mischief, that Native will deserve to fall by the *Ax* or the *Halter*.—A War against *France* by Sea, we still are, and always shall be, able to carry on, exhausted as we are; provided we shake off our Shoulders that intolerable Weight, that had well nigh crushed us to Death; and which, if we do not, even the little Duke of *Wolfenbottle*, could he amass Money sufficient to fit out a few flat-bottom'd Boats,

to embark his *few* Troops, would, in Time, be a Match for *Great Britain*, that hath reduced formidable *France* almost to the mean Condition of a *German* Prince. Doth it not therefore greatly behove this Nation to recal her Troops from *Germany*, falling there by Sickness, Fire, and Sword, in continental Broils, attended with an Expence of 6,000,000*l.* Sterling *per Annum*, when, if we retain all our Conquests, we shall not receive, upon the Ballance of our Trade, above 4 or 5,000,000*l.*? And if we cannot proceed in the continental System, without running continually in Debt, how shall we be able to bear up against the Burthen, if we restore to *France* at once three Millions out of that four or five, with a Chance of soon worming us out of the Remainder; a Chance, attended with such a fair Prospect of Success, that, but to call it a Chance, carries the Appearance of a down-right Absurdity?

Can then *any* Thing induce our Rivals of the charitable and merciful *Samaritan*, and of the generous Warriors of the earliest Ages, to pick the Pockets of their own Countrymen of three, perhaps five Millions Sterling *per Annum*; and thereby starve all the Merchants, Manufacturers, Artificers, Shop-keepers, Seamen, Freeholders, Farmers, and Day-Labourers, together with all the Nobility and Gentry of this united Kingdom; and destroy the Navy of *Britain*, only to enrich and aggrandize *France*; the implacable Enemy of this Nation? No surely.—Nor can they have any national Reason for it: And if not, what Reason—or rather—what Motive can they have, to prompt them to a Measure pregnant with inevitable Perdition to their Country?

When, with the unanimous Voices of this (in such a Case) greatly injured Nation, they shall stand at the awful Tribunal of the House of Lords, impeached by the Commons of *Great Britain*; will they plead in their Defence, that the Charms of Power and large

Salaries were so bewitching and irresistible, and their Abilities so inadequate to the arduous Affairs of War, that if they had not made Peace, they could not have retained either Power or Places. Or will they take off the Mask and own, that receiving from the Ministry of *H——r* a most melancholy Relation of the distressed and deplorable Situation of the *E——te*, and her dreadful Apprehensions of another Visit from the *French* Troops, their tender Hearts melting, could not bear her Sufferings. That sensible of the national Inabilities to continue the War in *Germany*, and, at the same Time, to defend our Conquests in *America*, and of their own Inabilities to carry on any War at all, they preferred a Peace with *France* upon any Conditions, to the sad Necessity of exposing *H——r*, and of resigning their Power and Employments.

Such Pleas—let them make if they durst : Neither will avail them ; for if the last is their Motive, it will fix the Argument upon a certain Point. For is it fitting, that this great, populous, and commercial Nation, that raised the *H——se* of *H——r* to the Imperial Throne of these Realms, to secure all her Rights and Privileges, and to promote her Interest and Glory, should, contrary to the true Meaning and Spirit of the Act of Settlement, give to *France*, for the Security of *H——r*, the selfish Views of whose *M——rs* have drawn so many Misfortunes upon us, and exposed us to the greatest Dangers, three Millions Sterling *per Annum*, perhaps five Millions ; together with the great Nursery of our naval Strength ?—Upon this single Point then I rest the Argument. And do you yourselves then judge, whether, if this really or probably is the Case, an Application to the Legislature, to take proper Measures to obtain a total Separation of the *German* Dominions will not be absolutely necessary, for the future Security of this Island.

Do not my dear and worthy old Friends and Masters, yet despair, tho' you should hear *French* Gold Chink, and *French* Chains and Fetters rattle all around you.—God hath often, very often in a most unexpected and wonderful Manner, delivered *Old England*, threatened with Destruction, from the wicked Machinations of evil Councillors and foreign Enemies.

Let *Englishmen* and all *Britons* then trust in God, their hitherto constant Protector; and let them not be wanting to themselves in an inactive and fruitless Dependency.—A proper Exertion of the legal and constitutional Weapons, which his good Providence, and the Virtues of our Fore-fathers have put in our Hands, may, and I doubt not will still save this sinking Land.

Besides, the Act of Settlement, which is a particular Compact between *Great Britain* and the House of *H—r*; we have the Bill of Rights which is a Renewal of the ancient, original, *Saxon* Compact between *Old England* and her Kings, confirmed and enforced thereby. This powerful Weapon, in the Hands of free-born *Britons*, hath removed all Obstacles in the Peoples Way to the Throne; and gives them an Approach to the Royal Ear.—So that if they are not negligent of their own Interest, and Happiness, and willing to be undone, they may lay all their Greivances before their Princes, represent the State of Things and the Misconduct of Ministers, and pray for Redress and for the Removal of Evil Councillors.

The Doors of both Houses of Parliament also are, from the Nature of our happy Constitution, ever open to the Petitions of the People. and the Ears of the Members ever attentive to their Complaints: and whenever the People think fit to apply to them for Redress of Grievances, or the Punishment of evil Councillors, there can be no Doubt, but their Applicati-

ons will be favourably received, and their Expectations fully satisfied;—even, tho' through a Deficiency of the Laws or Artifices used to evade the force of them, Delinquents may be so protected from adequate Punishments, that the People may be driven to the Necessity of praying for a Law *ex post Facto*, to reach them.

An humble and early Approach to the Throne, may often prevent national Mistortunes, especially such as are likely to happen in the Intervals of the Parliaments Sitzings, when it is impossible to apply to their own Representatives, and implore the Protection of either House of Parliament. Whether the present Crisis is a seasonable Time for the Exertion of such Rights and Privileges you yourselves are the best Judges.

I have, my Lord and Sirs, gone through all the Preliminaries of a Peace, which the hitherto uncontradicted News Papers, have been pleased to alarm the Nation with; except that, which relates to the exchange of *Minorca* for *Belleisle*.—I believe you will not think it necessary, to say any thing more upon this Head, than, that if the other Preliminaries are true, both these Places will be equally useless to us, since we shall soon have neither Commerce nor Fleets.

And now, my Lord and Sirs, I dare say you will think it full Time to release you, and lay down my Pen. But yet I crave your Patience for a short Word more.

Nothing, believe me, could have engaged me in this long Task but my Love to my Country, and my Love and Gratitude to the City of *London*, whose Dangers I see in the Light I have set them in to the Public. In these Sheets I have delivered nothing but what I really believe to be Fact, or any Sentiment, but what exactly corresponds with my Heart. And in laying these things before you and my Country, I have not, nor can have any other View, than the Good and Prosperity of my Fellow-Citizens and Fellow-

low-Subjects. I flatter myself with a full Persuasion, that you think I served you, in the Vigour of my Life faithfully, honestly, and with the Spirit of an *Englishman*, however unqualified I might be in the Point of Abilities, to serve you as I wished. If therefore I am not mistaken in this Persuasion, I may reasonably hope, for the Continuance of your former Confidence in your *Old* Servant, now I am far advanced in Years, and arrived at a Time of Life, when I ought daily to expect my call hence. And certainly it is now much too late to turn Villain, when I see *Old Time* aiming his Scythe at me, and unrelenting Death looking me full in the Face, and pointing to my Tomb. These, believe me, my good and Worthy old Friends and Masters, are no frightful Spectres, nor unpleasant Reflections to your Old Servant, who at the same time that he indulges these Ideas, can lay his Hand upon his Heart, and say, with Truth, I never betray'd my Trust—nor sold my Country.—May Almighty God deliver this Nation from her present Fears;—May true Religion and unsullied Virtue abound, and Liberty and Commerce flourish throughout this Island.—Parliaments remain uncorrupt, and Wisdom, Justice, and Goodness grace the Throne of these Realms;—and may the choicest Blessings in the Stores of Heaven, fall in plenteous Showers upon the City of *London* for evermore. These are my sincere and most hearty Wishes; and I pray God grant them.—Years render Travelling unpleasant: I shall scarce see my Old Constituents any more, and therefore I now take my last leave of you,—May I hope that the present Inhabitants of *London* will, when I am laid in my Grave, remember they once had a Servant, who bore the Name of

GEORGE HEATHCOTE.

Farewel,—Farewel.

Hereford, October 6, 1762.

POST.

P O S T S C R I P T.

N. B. Since I sent this Letter to the Press, I have been well informed, that all my Computations are much too low in Favour of *France*; particularly my Computation of 200,000*l. per Annum* for her Products of Indigo, Cotton, Coffee, Pimento, &c. are much too low; that they amount at least to 500,000*l. per Annum*, which makes the Profit arising to *France* 300,000*l. per Annum* more than I have made it. This Difference will turn in Favour of *France* the Ballance of 269,162 *l.* stated before in our Favour, upon a Supposition of restoring the *French* Sugar Islands, and permitting the *French* only to supply their Home Consumption of Fish, to which if we add the Value of the *African* Trade by the Restitution of *Goree*, and a Share of the *East India* Trade by that of *Pondicherry*, I verily believe the Ballance in Favour of *France* against *Great Britain* will not be much less than one Million Sterling, exclusive of a Ballance in Favour of the former upon the other Trade of *Europe*, which I fear is the Case. All these Trades must be esteemed so many Nurseries for Seamen, tending to the Advancement of the *French* naval Power, and when added to One-third of the *American* Fishery only, must furnish *France* with more Seamen than the Remainder of our Trade can do. *France* thus increasing both in Riches a Million more than *Great Britain per Annum*, and also proportionably in naval Power, can this Nation possibly long resist her Efforts to destroy her? If it cannot long resist—how soon must it become the Prey of *France*, when *France* has recovered the same Share of the Fishery she had before the War, which added, will put her in Possession of 3 or 4,000,000*l. per Annum*, whilst *Great Britain* will be reduced to her Tobacco, Rice, and small Remainder of the Fishery, all which together will not exceed

1,200,000*l.*

1,200,000*l. per Annum*? Let our wise Politicians ponder these Things, and tremble.

Although I could have enhanced the present, said to be intended for the favourable Acceptance of our ever perfidious Enemy some Millions, I chuse rather that the Judgments of Mankind should be at present formed upon the very moderate Computation in the foregoing Letter, as that is sufficient to prove the intire Destruction of this Country, if a Peace should be concluded upon the Preliminaries reported; especially as the Merchants, if they please to state such an Account as I have taken the Liberty to recommend, will do it with an Exactness, that the Friends of *France* and *H—r* will not be able to contradict it.

I chose to treat the Subject of the Fishery in the preceding Pages, upon the latter Report spread that the *French* were only to fish for their Home Consumption, as the most favourable to our excellent and wise Administration, and, perhaps, given out by them to abate the Resentment of the Nation for the present. Remember, my old Friends and Masters, that no Nation can possibly exist long when it relaxes Justice, which you need not fear to obtain, through the Vigilance and Integrity of a *British* Parliament; and should you ever have Occasion to bring Ministers to Justice whilst Mr. *Pitt* lives—let me recommend to you such a Confidence in that true Patriot, as will prevent all Suspicion of his Fidelity. If he should judge it proper to form any Connections with old Offenders—that possibly may be a very necessary Step—whom, if they heartily concur in bringing new Ones to Justice, I hope, upon such Conditions, and upon such Conditions only, you will forgive and forget their past Faults.

Hereford, Oct. 16, 1762.

A P P E N D I X.

The British Merchant, from P. 284 to P. 296. Vol. II.

BUT that I may not be misunderstood, as if I were pleading for the *Dutch*; for whereinfoever they are our Rivals in Trade, they are to be guarded against. But I am shewing, we ought to be more jealous of the *French*, who are more our Rivals in Trade. And, in order to do this, I shall shew the *Mercator's* Partiality, by representing truly the State of the *French* Trade; and adding to the *Mercator's* two Instances several others, wherein the *French* are our Rivals, at least equally, if not in a greater Degree, than the *Dutch* are.

He has omitted to charge to the Account of the *French* their rivalling us in the Fishery. He charges this to the Account of the *Dutch*; and tells us very truly, that they are increased in the Herring Fishery; I hope he will not say, in Red Herrings; that, he knows, is not true: For they make none but White Herrings. They catch them in the open Sea, near the Coast of *Scotland*; and carry them to *Holland*, and prepare them. Their Industry in this is to be commended; and the Supineness and Negligence of the *Scotch* and *English* to be blamed; not that they do not hinder them, but that they do not imitate their Industry and Vigilance. He says, they used to pay an Acknowledgment for this: I wish they did so still. But I shall tell him presently of another Nation, that paid a Duty for catching Fish; which has been long since discontinued, through the Faults of some Persons formerly; and that they are now very far from being again reduced to a Condition, of being ever forced to renew the Payment of that Duty. He says, the

the *Dutch* have beaten us out of the Whale Fishing. He has forgot, that the *French* have a very great Fishery of that Kind ; but it did not serve his Purpose, to say any Thing of the *French* White Fishery : That would have made against his good Friends ; and therefore was to be passed over in Silence. Notwithstanding, the *French* Fishermen of *St. John de Luze*, *Bayonne*, and other Ports in that Part of the Bay of *Biscay*, are the most expert Harpooners in the World, without excepting the *Dutch* and *Hamburghers*. Whether the *Mercator* knew this or no, the *French* know it ; and therefore took Care, by the late Treaty of Commerce, to have the Produce of Whales excepted, (not against us, says the *Mercator*, but) against the *Dutch*. 'Tis a Sign they think their own Fishery sufficient, at least, to supply themselves with the Produce of Whales, without being beholden either to the *Dutch* or *English*. The *Dutch* then are not the only Nation, that have wormed us out of this Trade ; the *French* have done it too, to the vast Increase of their Navigation and Seamen.—

But the *French* have not only increased in the Whale Fishery, but, which is of much more Consequence to us, they have exceedingly increased their Fishery to *Newfoundland*, as well on the Coast, as on the great Bank. The Consequences of this Increase of their Fishery, we have, to our Sorrow, too sensibly felt ; and yet they have found Advocates for it, who are ready to answer, when any Thing is represented against granting the *French* any Liberty of Fishery, What ! must the *French* have nothing ? So very kind are some Persons to them, that they are angry with their Fellow-Subjects, for endeavouring to exclude them that Fishery. The *French* do not only fish on the great Banks of *Newfoundland* for such Fish as is cured without drying, as the *Dutch* do in their White Herring Fishery in the open Sea ; but have had the Address to obtain, that the Island of *Cape Breton*

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should be yielded up to them, to fortify and do what they please with : Where they may, and doubtless will, make another *Dunkirk* ; and where they may carry on their dry Fishery, as well as at *Placentia*. We have an Account, that they have some Time ago sent Men of War to fortify *Cape Breton* ; but, as if this was not Privilege enough for them, they have obtained, that, in the fishing Season, they may resort to the very Island of *Newfoundland* itself, and erect Stages, &c. to cure and dry their Fish at. 'Tis a Sign they think this Liberty sufficient for them ; for they have excepted against all this Sort of Fish, but what shall be in Barrels, by the late Treaty of Commerce. The *Mercator* cannot be so ignorant, as to suppose *Newfoundland* Fish, and especially the dry Fish, can be carried to *France* in Barrels, but at such an Increase of the Cost, as shall render the Sale impracticable in that Country, though the Duties there are sufficient to do this.

But this is not all ; the World is well amended with the *French*, since the Time that they paid a Tribute for the Liberty of curing and drying Fish at *Newfoundland* ; which was granted to them by King *Charles* the First, in the tenth Year of his Reign. At this present the *French* do not only pay no Tribute, but, by their Neighbourhood at *Cape Breton*, will oblige us to keep large Garrisons at *Newfoundland*, if we will prevent our being surprized there ; where they will have the Liberty of the fishing Season, equally with us, from *Cape Bonavista* northward to the northern Point of the said Island, &c. by which Situation they will be our Rivals in another Branch of our Fishery, that of Salmon. For at the Harbour of *Bonavista*, which is to the Northward of the Cape, and therefore within their Limits, is an extraordinary good Fishery of Salmon. But this some wise Folks knew nothing of. Had the late King *William* granted the *Dutch* any one of the Islands of the *Orkneys*, in Propriety,

Propriety, to fortify; or a Liberty of restoring to, or of erecting drying Houses necessary to cure Red Herrings in any such Island, or in *England* or *Scotland*, it would have been remembered, with very good Reason, a thousand and a thousand Times over. So the *Mercator* may observe here, the *Dutch* nor *French* do neither of them pay the Duty they used to pay; but the *French* have had the Cunning to procure for their Fishery, such Liberties and Privileges as can scarcely be consistent with our Safety or Interest; and which the *Dutch* could not obtain from those, whom the *Mercator* counts their Friends. I leave the World now to judge, who are our *greatest* and *most dangerous* Rivals in the Fishery.

Not that I am so much concerned, that they do not now pay that Acknowledgment they formerly paid for the Liberty of fishing on the Island of *Newfoundland*, as I am, that they at any Time paid any such Acknowledgment: For certainly, without the Shadow of that Submission, they would not have been indulged in a Matter, that might, in its Consequence, prove as fatal to our Safety, as detrimental to our Commerce: And I cannot but think, that, notwithstanding the Interest the *French* had in the Court of *England*, by Means of the *French* Match they would hardly without this seeming Advantage, have obtained Leave to cure and dry their Fish upon the very Island of *Newfoundland* itself, whatever Leave might have been granted them of fishing upon the great Banks thereof; which are as much the Dependencies of that Island, as the Coasts and Banks, where the *Dutch* fish for Herrings off *Scotland*, and the North Parts of *England*, are belonging to *Great Britain*; and for which there was the same Reason to insist on a Duty to be paid by the *French*, though they should never set their Foot upon the Island, as there was for demanding it of the *Dutch* for what they caught here in the open Sea.—Every Body must acknowledge,

that it was extremely the Interest of *France*, to submit to pay five *per Cent.* upon all the Fish, they caught and dryed at *Newfoundland*; that they might secure to themselves the Advantage of such a Nursery of Seamen.

They are now so much our Rivals in this Trade, and are increased to such a prodigious Degree, that they employ yearly from *St. Malo, Granville, Rochelle, St. Martins, Isle of Rea, Bayonne, St. Jean de Luze, S.aur, &c.* to carry on their Fishery on the Great Banks of *Newfoundland*, and on the Coasts of that Island; that is, in their Wet and Dry Fish, upwards of four hundred Sail of Ships; They do not only now supply themselves with the Fish, they formerly had from us; but furnish many parts of *Spain*, and *Italy* therewith; and rival us there to our prodigious Loss. They have the properest Sort of Salt of their own, which renders their Voyages much shorter than ours. For we are obliged to go from hence to *Rochelle, Oleron, St. Martins, &c.* to fetch that Commodity, which they have at their own Doors; and thereby we most frequently spend a Month or six Weeks more in our Voyages than they do.

They are so extremely sensible of the prodigious Advantage of this Fishery, and so very intent upon pursuing it, that from their first Attempts to make themselves considerable at Sea, they have had it perpetually in View. — They first obtained leave to fish upon paying a Duty of 5 *per Cent.* afterwards they got that Acknowledgement relinquished: But they have lately gone much further: for in the present Treaty they have procured a Cession to be made to them of the Island of *Cape Breton*, a maiden Fishery; that has scarce ever been touched: whereas *Newfoundland* is almost exhausted, and also several Islands in the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*: And not content with that, they have further obtained a Liberty of curing and drying their Fish; setting up Stages; and resorting to OUR
Island

Island of *Newfoundland*, during all the Time that it is of any Use to resort thither; that is, during the Fishing Season. They are, indeed, to deliver us up the Possession of *Placentia*, and some other places in *Newfoundland*: but then they have taken care to have a better Place yielded to them, in lieu thereof; with this extraordinary Favour to them more than to us, that they have the Liberty granted them to frequent Our Island of *Newfoundland*, and erect Stages, &c. thereon, for curing and drying their Fish: but we have not the Privilege allowed us of doing the same on any of their Islands, or on the Island of *Cape Breton*; which they have express Permission granted them to fortify as they please. Thus they are our Rivals in the FISHERY by our own Consent; which is the more wonderful, in that it is owing to this Fishery, that they dared to contend for the Mastery at Sea with the Maritime Strength of *England* and *Holland* united. 'Tis true, the *English* and *Dutch* are most frequently called the Maritime Powers; but I think it a Jest to appropriate the Name of Maritime Powers to *Great Britain* and *Holland*, exclusive of *France*, when we consider what a Figure that Nation made at Sea, before the Battle of *La Hogue* in 1692. Can we then think, that a few Years of Peace, with such a Fishery, and such Conditions of Commerce, as were to be granted to *France* by the late Treaty, will not then enable her to contend again with our united Fleets? The History, both of *France* and *England*, will shew you, that it is since their procuring Leave to fish at *Newfoundland*, that they have grown so formidable at Sea; and that their Navy Royal has augmented, in Proportion to the Numbers of Ships employed in that Fishery.—What have we not to expect then from them, now they have obtained a Right to a better Place for their Fishery, in the Opinion even of the *French* themselves, as you will see by the inclosed Letter, written by a Minister of State in *France* to the

the

the Duke *de Gramond* at *ayonne*; and which I believe is Genuine. The Occasion of it was, that the People of *St. Jean de Luze* and *Sibour* (two places in the County of *La Bour*) being under Apprehensions that their Fishery at *Newfoundland* was to be delivered up wholly to us, the Duke wrote a Letter to *Paris* to be rightly informed; and received the following Answer.

Copy of a Letter written by Monsieur de Ponchartrain to Monsieur the Duke de Gramond, from Fontainebleau, 19 September, 1713.

“ I Have received, Sir, the Letter you did me the
 “ Honour to write me the third of this Month,
 “ with two Letters that were directed to You by the
 “ Inhabitants of *St. Jean de Luze* and *Sibour*, upon the
 “ Subject of their Fishery of Dry Fish. From the
 “ Account I have given the King of their Demand,
 “ his Majesty directed me to write, by his Order to
 “ Monseigneur the Duke *d'Aumont*, his Ambassador
 “ Extraordinary at *London*, to ask of the Queen of
 “ *Great Britain* a Permission for them to go the
 “ next Year to *Placentia*; and the Liberty to conti-
 “ nue their Fishery in ALL the Ports and Harbours
 “ upon the Coast of *Newfoundland*. I shall give
 “ myself the Honour to acquaint you with Mon-
 “ seigneur the Duke *d'Aumont*'s Answer. I agree
 “ with You, Sir, that the Country of *la Bour* will
 “ suffer very much, should they be deprived of their
 “ Liberty of carrying on their Fishery of Dry Fish;
 “ And you will be persuaded of the Attention I have
 “ to procure to the Merchants, that drive this Com-
 “ merce, the Means to continue them in it, when I
 “ have informed you, that the King sent from *Roch-*
 “ *ford*, in the Month of *May* last, one Frigate to
 “ go and lay the first Foundation of an Establishment
 “ in the Island of *Cape Breton*; where Fish is MUCH
 “ MORE ABUNDANT, than at the Island of *New-*
 “ *foundland*;

“ *foundland* ; and where one may *make the Fish, and*
 “ *manage the drying thereof easily.* This Frigate ar-
 “ rived *June 26 at Placentia*, from whence she was
 “ to continue her Course for *Cape Breton* ; to which
 “ Place I have caused to be transported 100 Men,
 “ to begin the Settlement. His Majesty will send,
 “ in the Beginning of the Year, three Ships to trans-
 “ port thither the Garrison of *Placentia*, and the In-
 “ habitants of the Island of *Newfoundland* ; and to put
 “ the last Hand to the Establishment of that Port.
 “ The Merchants of this Kingdom may then send
 “ all such Ships as they shall think fit to order for
 “ the fishing of dry Fish, and for the Oils that are
 “ made from the Fish on the said Island. This Fa-
 “ vour ought to animate the Merchants that drive
 “ this Commerce, to carry it on with Vigour, from
 “ the Advantage they will draw from it. This is all
 “ I have been able to do in their Favour. I desire
 “ you to be persuaded of the great Sincerity where-
 “ with I have the Honour to be—.”

From this Letter, 'tis plain the *French* never intend-
 ed to quit the Fishery of dry Cod ; and that they
 have very much at Heart the rivalling us therein.

That, to secure themselves against any Accident,
 they were careful to send a Man of War in the Month
 of *May, 1713*, which was within a little Time after
 the signing the Treaty the 11th of *April* before, and
 had sent 100 Men to lay the first Foundations of their
 Fortifications at *Cape Breton* ; and further assure the
 Duke, that three other Ships should be sent the Begin-
 ning of this Year, to transport the Garrison of *Pla-*
centia thither, and put the last Hand to the Estab-
 lishment of that Port ; which, no Doubt, they will
 effect, before they deliver up *Placentia* : Not much
 unlike what they are doing under our Noses, making
 a new Port at *Mardyke*, before they fill up the old
 one at *Dunkirk*.

Another

. Another Thing observable from this Letter is, that the *French* are now so sanguine as not to content themselves with the Cession of *Cape Breton*, and other Islands thereabouts; or with the Liberty of erecting Stages, &c. to cure and dry their Fish, from *Cape Bonavista* Northward, and so on to *Point Riche*, on the western Side; but are asking new Favours, and demand a Permission to *Placentia* this Year, (although the Time agreed for delivering that Place has been long since expired) and sue for a Liberty to make their Fish in all the Ports and Harbours upon the Coasts of *Newfoundland*: Which, though I make no Doubt but was denied them; yet I am amazed, that it should ever enter into their Heads, so much as to attempt. Sure they think we can deny them nothing!

F I N I S.

